

LEO C. BROWN:  
"Right-to-Work"

# SOCIAL ORDER

MARCH 1955 • 40c • \$4 A YEAR

Six Articles on Responsibility

**An Answer for Japan**

**"Right-to-Work" Laws**

**Citizens and Principles**

**Anarchy of Tax-Evading**

**Note on the Common Good**

**You and the National Debt**

# SOCIAL ORDER

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## ... just a few things:

THE ISSUE OF SO-CALLED "right-to-work" bills continues to be a matter of agitation in several states, and seventeen already have such acts on the statute books. Rev. Leo C. Brown, director of the Institute of Social Order, has given considerable thought to this movement and sees in it a number of difficulties.

THE ARTICLE CONCERNED with Japan's food problem is one of immense import. The situation, as Father Kaschmitter indicates in his introduction, is alarmingly grave. The huge population of Japan is confronted with the dual prospect of economic bankruptcy and of starvation. Feeding almost ninety million people with food raised on only seventeen million acres of arable soil is an impossible task. (With less than twice the Japanese population, the U. S. had 1.15 *billion* acres under cultivation in 1950!) And Japanese exports are far from balancing the cost of her foreign food purchases.

The suggestion which Father Kaschmitter makes to help alleviate the situation, long term leases of agricultural land in other parts of the world, will not meet with a sympathetic hearing. But before the people of other nations reject the suggestion, it would be good both to consider the gravity of Japan's condition and to investigate the alternatives. Does the United States or any other nation not as sorely distressed as Japan have the right blandly to watch millions of human beings go hungry while they hoard up

mountains of agricultural surpluses?

Father William E. Kaschmitter, M.M., is an American from the agricultural plains of North Dakota. As a missionary in Japan and director of Tosei News Service in Tokyo, he has come to understand the seriousness of Japan's distress and has given long and careful consideration to his proposal.

MR. JAMES SCHNEID's proposal for Catholic political action could easily be misunderstood by one who reads hastily or with blanshardist preconceptions. He is not urging establishment of a Catholic political party, nor is he calling for any kind of united political action for any "Catholic" goals, nor does he want to organize some new kind of pressure group.

Rather, recognizing that our American people are far more Christian than outside observers would suspect (albeit unskilled in modern Christian living), he calls for development of a profoundly Christian nucleus which will aid the great body of Americans in the unceasing task of evaluating political issues in the light of Christian faith.

TO THE SERIES OF ARTICLES under the general title, "You and . . .," we add still another in this issue: "You and the National Debt." Its author, Charles A. Frankenhoff, S.J., who is studying economics at St. Louis University, notes some of the problems

related to carrying so large a burden of federal indebtedness. He recognizes, however, that it is a necessary burden and one which has a few counterbalancing virtues, as well.

DISTRIBUTION OF material things, money, cars, housing, food and clothing, in some reasonably equitable measure is unquestionably one of the objectives of the common good. But preoccupation with temporal welfare can obscure in our minds and in our social strivings other areas of common good less tangible, perhaps, but more important. In his "small note" on the common good, Father B. W. Dempsey calls to our attention two spiritual aspects of man's total goal and a significant instrument for their attainment, namely, private property.

FATHER LAND'S ARTICLE on the morality of tax dodging is an expanded version of a statement on the question

he prepared some months ago at the request of the editor of the *St. Louis Register*. He emphasizes the importance of examining the concrete situation in such moral questions as this.

IN THIS ISSUE of SOCIAL ORDER we continue reporting for your convenience issuance of paper-bound works that have social significance. Works will be listed with full bibliographical information, including price and the address of the publisher. Every effort will be made to report a book in the first issue of the magazine appearing after reception of a review copy.

FATHER LAND had prepared an essay-review for this issue of SOCIAL ORDER. Because of the timeliness of his article on the morality of tax evasion, the review has been postponed until April.

F. J. C., S.J.



# "RIGHT-TO-WORK" LEGISLATION

## *Does Not Solve Problem*

LEO C. BROWN, S.J.

**T**HIS paper<sup>1</sup> has limited scope.<sup>2</sup> It will outline some of the considerations which persuade me that throughout a somewhat undetermined but definitely substantial area of American industry effective and stable unionism is impossible without union security. It will conclude with some observations on the assertion that the union-shop does violence to the rights of individual workmen.

The term, "right-to-work" legislation is a slogan, selected for its sales value; and as such it inadequately describes the legislation we are discussing. What I have in mind is a statute or constitutional amendment which prohibits the usual forms of union-security agreements (closed-shop, union-shop

and maintenance of membership). The closed-shop, illegal under the Taft-Hartley Act, permits hiring and working only union members or, where union members are not available, only persons willing to join the union. In a union-shop the employer is free to hire anyone, but employees must join the union within a definite period of time, normally thirty days, and thereafter remain members of the union. In maintenance-of-membership arrangements, those employees who join the union must keep up their memberships.

Prior to the Taft-Hartley Act, loss of union membership for any reason could have led to loss of employment under a union-security agreement. Since 1947, however, only lack of membership arising out of failure to pay the union initiation fee or periodic dues and assessments can lead to discharge. The various forms of union-security have this in common, payment of union initiation fees and dues is made a condition of continued employment. This, right-to-work legislation would make unlawful.

### OTHER LANDS

If we were a country such as England, Norway or Sweden, with a stable and homogeneous industrial population, I am not certain that the arguments which I am about to use would be equally cogent. In Great Britain, for example, closed-shop agreements are rare, but the tradition of the 100-percent union-shop is of long standing. One union normally tolerates the presence of another union within the same

<sup>1</sup> A paper read at a regional meeting of the Catholic Economic Association, St. Louis, Mo., December 10, 1954.

<sup>2</sup> Accordingly, this is not a discussion of the morality of "right-to-work" legislation, or of actual or possible misuse of power which goes with the union-shop. Nothing in this paper need be understood as implying that workmen are morally obliged to belong to labor unions. People can consistently advocate the legal liberty of a group of workmen to make union-shop contracts while defending their moral liberty to decide not to enter into such contracts or even to decide not to form a union.

(For discussions of the morality of right-to-work laws see Rev. William J. Kelly, O.M.I., LL.D., "Right-to-Work Laws: A Moral Study," *The Machinist*, November 18, 1954; also, "'Right-to-Work' Bill Threat to Labor Unions," *The St. Louis Register*, September 17, 1954. For discussions of the obligation to join a union see William A. Durbin, "The Right Not to Join a Union," *SOCIAL ORDER*, 2 [September, 1952] 291; William J. Smith, S.J., "The Duty to Join a Union," *SOCIAL ORDER*, 2 [November, 1952] p. 387.)

bargaining unit or establishment, but unionized workers refuse to work with nonunion employees. The situation is somewhat similar in Sweden. There the closed-shop is lawful to the extent that nonunion employees may be discharged, but one union may not use the closed shop to require discharge of members of another union. In Norway the closed-shop is legal but rarely found because of the policies of employer organizations. However, in many large Norwegian industries few nonunion workers can be found. In such countries with homogeneous and stable working populations and the solid tradition that workmen join unions, the question of union-security clauses in labor agreements is largely moot. At any rate, they are unnecessary adjuncts to effective and stable unionism.

**B**UT this country is not Great Britain, Norway or Sweden. Our working force is characterized by unparalleled horizontal and vertical mobility. Here workers move about not only from unskilled to skilled positions, from the workbench to the ranks of management, from industry to industry, but also from place to place. People move frequently not only from house to house within the same city or county but between counties and states and even between countries. A large steel firm in the Chicago area, for example, recently hired so many workers from Mexico, Puerto Rico and other Spanish-speaking areas that it was necessary to institute language classes that workmen might understand foremen and read enough to avoid ordinary safety hazards. The effect of such an influx upon union organization, if these newcomers were left unorganized, and the difficulty of organizing and integrating them into a union without some form of union-security is evident. International migration, however, constitutes but a minor threat in union stability.

Domestic intraindustrial, interindustrial and interplant migration is an entirely different matter.

#### LARGE TURNOVER

Consider frequency of change of residence in the United States. In a seven-year period from April, 1940, to April, 1947, 58 per cent of the civilian male population of more than fourteen years old changed residence. Of these movers, 36 per cent migrated from one county to another; the others moved from one residence to another within the same county.<sup>3</sup> Other statistics suggest that an extremely high proportion of these moves were associated with a change of employment for the major breadwinner. In a study of labor mobility in six eastern cities it was found that from 1940 through 1949 only thirty per cent of the men and seventeen per cent of the women were continuously employed by one employer during the decade.<sup>4</sup> But this only begins to suggest the mobility of the labor force. The seventy jobs in each hundred in which there was turnover were probably held by three or four occupants during the decade. To keep the 100 jobs filled more than 400 people may have been hired in the ten years.

Some such conclusion must be drawn from the monthly statistics on labor turnover in manufacturing.<sup>5</sup> These data indicate that for every hundred people on the payroll about four quit each month and about four are hired—that is, in the course of the year for every 100 people employed there will have been about 48 quits and about 48 accessions. This, of course, does not mean that an employer who begins a

<sup>3</sup> See Donald J. Bogue, "Residential Mobility and Migration of Workers," *Manpower in the United States*, Table XI-1, p. 144.

<sup>4</sup> See Charles A. Meyers, "Patterns of Labor Mobility," *op. cit.*, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> These statistics appear monthly in Tables B-1 and B-2 in *Monthly Labor Review*.

year with 100 people will have only 52 of his original employees at the end of the year. Rapid turnover normally occurs within a small segment of the work force where newcomers are frequently replaced after a short period of time by other newcomers. But when all needed allowances are made, these data should suggest that the task of maintaining effective union organization in many establishments is immense and continuing.

Other data point to a similar conclusion. As shown in Table I, in 1950 in all industry covered by the old-age social-security program employees who worked four quarters in that year for one employer worked only 56.4 per cent of all quarters worked by all employees. It is inaccurate, but for our purpose not grossly misleading, to say that in 1950 only 56.4 per cent of the work performed was done by employees who worked for the same employer throughout the year. In 1951 the corresponding percentage was 53.5, and in 1952, 54.4.

TABLE I.—QUARTERS WORKED BY FOUR-QUARTER SINGLE-EMPLOYER WORKERS AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL OF ALL QUARTERS WORKED, 1950, 1951 AND 1952<sup>1</sup>

Employment	1950	1951	1952
All covered industries	56.4	53.5	54.4
Manufacturing	62.7	59.8	59.5
Wholesale and retail trade	48.4	44.6	44.8
Services	41.6	40.6	44.0

Source: 1950, Based on data in Tables A402 and A403, *Handbook of OASI Statistics, 1950*; 1951 and 1952, based on data supplied by Bureau of Old Age and Survivor Insurance, Social Security Administration. Data for 1950 and 1951 are from one per cent samples; for 1952, 0.1 per cent sample.

<sup>1</sup> The number of four-quarter single-employer workers in each industry group was multiplied by four to determine the total of quarters worked by these workers. Similarly, the total of all quarters worked by all employees was found by multiplying the number of one-, two-, three- and four-quarter workers by one, two, three and four, respectively and summing.

In manufacturing industries, where we should expect greater stability, the ratios of quarters worked by four-

quarter single-employer workers to all quarters worked were in 1950, 62.7; in 1951, 59.8; and in 1952, 59.5 per cent. In the service trades where we should expect higher turnover the corresponding ratios were in 1950, 41.6; in 1951, 40.6; and in 1952, 44.0 per cent.

The ratio of employees who worked for the same employer throughout four quarters to all employees who worked in the various industry groups are significant and are presented in Table II.

TABLE II.—FOUR-QUARTER SINGLE-EMPLOYER WORKERS AS PERCENTAGES OF ALL WORKERS, 1952<sup>1</sup>

	All Workers	Four-Quarter Single-Employer Workers	
		Number	Percentage of All Workers
U. S. Total	55,511	25,185	45.4
Manufacturing	23,546	11,156	47.6
Wholesale and trade	18,571	5,676	32.7
Services	9,783	2,875	34.0

Source: As in Table I.

<sup>1</sup> 0.1 per cent sample.

Let us consider these data in practical terms of a union's organizing problems. They suggest that in 1950 in manufacturing sixty per cent of the labor used was supplied by 47.6 per cent of all employees on the payroll during the year. Forty per cent was supplied by 52.4 per cent of the employees on the payroll. Of 100 full-time jobs sixty would be filled by sixty four-quarter single-employer workers, but about 66 less stable workers would be needed to fill the remaining 40 jobs, or on average 1.7 employees per job.

#### DIFFICULT JOB

Consider an establishment in which a union has organized seventy per cent of the work force. Except in unusual circumstances, seventy-per-cent unionization represents a fairly solid initial accomplishment. Assume, too, that union membership at the time of organization is distributed equally among stable and less stable workers. Within one year unless the union added new

recruits, it could expect to have only 42 per cent of the work force in the union; that is, only seventy per cent of the stable workers (which, as our data indicated, represent about sixty per cent of the workers in manufacturing). To maintain seventy-per-cent membership, the union would need to attract not 22 new members for each 100 jobs, but 37 new recruits, because, as our statistics indicate, it requires on average 1.7 of the less-stable workers to fill each job. In other words to maintain seventy-per-cent union membership the union would have to enroll about 37 per cent of the average work force each year.

The statistics we have just quoted apply to manufacturing, which can be considered as offering a highly stable employment. In wholesale and retail trade, as indicated by the statistics, the turnover is greater. In 1952, 33 per cent of employees on the payroll in wholesale trade and 34 per cent of employees in service trades were four-quarter single-employer workers.

#### WEAKER AREAS HIT

We have been talking in terms of averages. There are employers whose turnover experience is much better than the average. Any of us, with little thought, could name several employers whose turnover experience bears no relation to the picture we have been drawing. Their experience is much better than average. But, likewise, there are employers whose turnover experience is much worse. And it is precisely in areas of greatest instability that some form of union security is needed to maintain effective union organization.

A few months ago I was asked by an employer and a union to check signed union-authorization cards against payroll data to determine whether or not the people in three small plants in outlying districts wanted the union to represent them. It was agreed that if in

each plant 51 per cent of employees on the payroll wanted the particular union to represent them, the employer would recognize that union. The employer took the payroll nearest the date of the agreement and sent it to me to be used as a master list. Three weeks to one month had elapsed between the time the union secured the signatures and the date of the payroll. The union sent me authorization cards which it thought represented well over fifty per cent of the employees at each establishment.

On the first list there were 172 eligible employees. For these the union submitted 113 signed authorization cards. But of these 113, I refused to accept 24 because they could not be identified on the employer's list. Many of the 24 people who had signed the cards had left the employer's establishment between the time of signing the card and the date of the payroll used. This was probably less than one month.

In the second plant there were 91 names on the employer's list. The union presented 58 cards—that is, about 64 per cent as many cards as there were names on the payroll. But of these 58 I refused to accept six or slightly more than ten per cent. In this case I checked with the employer and found that these six employees had recently been separated from the payroll.

In the third factory the payroll showed 88 employees. The union presented 59 authorization cards—about 67 per cent as many cards as employees on the payroll. Again I rejected six cards which had been signed by employees who had been separated; that is, again, about ten per cent of the cards presented. In each of these three cases the union, thinking that it had well over the required 51 per cent nearly lost certification because of the turnover between the signing of the cards and the date of the payroll. Had the payroll of a month later been accepted as the master list, the union probably would

have lost certification and the organizing effort would have been to no avail. This illustrates, I think, the continued organizational effort which is required in many establishments to maintain effective unionization.

**A** SIMILAR conclusion is suggested by another set of data. A day or two ago I called a local union in St. Louis which organizes people in service industries. It has an average membership of about 5,400. For the year November 1, 1953, through October 31, 1954, this union took in 2,246 new members and lost 2,456 old members. Over the year it experienced a net loss of 210 members, but of the 5,200 members at the end of the year only slightly more than fifty per cent had been members at the beginning of the year. Little imagination is needed to appreciate the difficulty which this union would experience in maintaining effective organization at establishments where it has labor agreements if it were deprived of all forms of union security.

Let us consider one more example. It is, admittedly, an extreme case. But, after all, we are talking of a law which would prohibit union security not only in establishments characterized by highly stable employee populations but in all establishments. This union organized about 50 employees in a garage which, because it was associated with a municipality, would not grant any form of union security. It represented these employees for three years.

At the end of three years, the dues-paying membership in the union was three people. The union called the three dues-paying members, gave them withdrawal cards and wrote a letter to the other employees suggesting that they find another union to represent them, saying that the local which had represented them could no longer ask its dues-paying members to carry the costs of representing a group of people who

refused to pay their share of the burden.

We have been citing statistics and examples of a kind which do not justify precise conclusions. They were used merely to indicate that there is a great deal of turnover in employment in many industries and establishments in this country and to suggest the broad dimensions of the problem of maintaining stable and effective union organization where such conditions prevail. The conclusion, I think, is justified beyond question that in large areas in American industry effective and stable union organization is practically impossible without some form of union security or without a sustained organizing campaign at prohibitive costs and, I might add, with continuing turmoil.

**T**O STATE my point somewhat more precisely, I will venture the opinion that in those areas of industry characterized by highly-skilled employment, such as the building crafts, and by highly stable employment, such as railroads, the larger electrical utilities and many types of manufacturing, a "right-to-work law" would work little detriment to union stability except as it affected union finances by increasing the problem of dues collection. But even in this matter I would expect the adverse effects to be transitory, because the unions in these industries, after study of the law, would gradually evolve substitute arrangements, and the employers, because they are confronted by strong unions, would cooperate. In these areas the important result of such legislation in many instances would be disruption of mutually satisfactory arrangements which had been painfully worked out over years.

In many service industries, in wholesale and retail trade, in those areas of manufacturing characterized by semi-skilled employment, seasonality and high turnover, I would expect "right-to-work" laws to create organizing prob-



lems which many unions could not surmount. I would expect unions to disappear in many establishments and to be rendered almost wholly ineffectual in others. Briefly, I would expect the effects of this legislation to be most severe where the unskilled and semi-skilled are employed and perhaps where unions are most needed.

Many people who support "right-to-work" legislation assert that workmen have an unconditioned right to a job, independently of membership in a union, and oppose the union shop, with its compulsory union membership, because it conflicts with this right. We may observe that the workmen themselves do not seem to be greatly troubled about the loss of this asserted right. Between August 22, 1947, and October 22, 1951, four years and two months, there were 46,146 elections held by the National Labor Relations Board to determine whether or not employees in affected establishments desired a union-shop. Ninety-seven per cent of the elections favored the union-shop. Of 5,538,982 valid votes, 91 per cent were "yes." The people whose rights are most directly affected, working people themselves, are not too greatly concerned about the loss of liberty involved in the union-shop.

For my own part, I have never been convinced that the right to refuse membership in a union when such membership is offered on a nondiscriminatory basis is the most basic either of American or of human rights. If we look at the work relationship itself, is not the right of workers to refuse to work with unsatisfactory work companions as real as the right of a worker to refuse to join the workers' organization?

Take an establishment that employs 100 seamstresses, sixty of whom belong to a union and forty do not. Assume that a union is needed, and the forty

nonunion people in the establishment make it difficult for the unionized workers to bargain effectively. Assume that the costs of supporting the union are high for the sixty per cent who are unionized. Assume further that the union offers the nonunion workers membership in the union on a nondiscriminatory basis. Are the unionized workers violating a clear right of the others if they refuse to work with them because the non-union workers weaken the bargaining position of the union people and because their refusal to join increases the cost of maintaining the services which the union provides, which the people need and to which they have a right?

Let us ask the question in reverse. What is the basis of the rights of the forty nonunion workers to deprive the sixty union workers of effective unionization? What is the basis of their right to refuse to pay their share of the cost of the benefits which the union provides and which they too, enjoy? Whatever the right is, it is not, in my opinion, absolute and unconditioned, nor more basic than the right of workmen to adequate wages and working conditions and to effective union organization as an important means thereto.

As stated earlier, the union-shop and union power have been abused and these abuses need correction. But an important and independent reason for opposing "right-to-work" legislation is its failure to identify these abuses or to fashion appropriate remedies. Such abuses are usually a product of the kind of situation which "right-to-work" legislation would leave untouched. These abuses are serious and need thorough analysis and careful prescription. However, because infected tonsils may become fatal for the patient, broadax surgery need not be the indicated treatment.

# Japan's Food Problem

## . . . and a Proposed Solution

WILLIAM A. KASCHMITTER, M.M.

**T**HAT Japan is a nation "less favored by nature" in the sense defined by Pope Pius XII really needs no proof. However, to realize the gravity of the situation, a few statistics will be useful. One of the basic facts is that the area of Japan (147,690 square miles) is almost identical with that of Montana. Its population of 88,000,000, however, is almost equal to the 1950 population of all the States west of the Mississippi *plus* the population of Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and Florida, which have a total area of more than 2,650,000 square miles!

Still more important is the fact that Japan, with only 17,000,000 acres of arable land, has a smaller food-producing area than is *actually under cultivation* in New York state. Thus Japan has a population of 3,313 persons per square mile of arable land or more than five persons per arable acre. The contrast between Japan and the rest of the world is brought out by Josue de Castro in his book, *Geography of Hunger*. Quoting Robert Salter and Homer Shantz of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, de Castro tells us that less than 2,000,000,000 acres are now under cultivation throughout the world but that 16,000,000,000 acres could be brought under cultivation by modern methods.

Japan has 6,176,404 farms as compared with only 5,382,162 in the United States, but it would take 78 average Japanese farms to equal the average farm in the United States. An-

ton Zischka<sup>1</sup> tells us that 49 per cent of the Japanese lived on farms in 1930 and the "almost unimaginable" misery of the farmers was leading the people to militarism and conquest. According to latest estimates, the farming population is now almost thirty per cent greater than it was in 1930.

Though Japanese fishermen are able to add some 3.5 million tons of fish to the national larder each year, the country must import between three and four million tons of food annually. Yet a recent report of the Ministry of Welfare states that 22 per cent of the population (19,200,000 persons) are suffering from undernourishment.

### OTHERS HAVE SURPLUS

By contrast, various other countries are suffering from huge food surpluses. The United States spent \$7,000,000,000 by the end of 1954 to buy up agricultural surpluses and maintain prices. That means that every family of five persons has had to pay \$220 to keep surpluses off the market and "unbuyable" and must pay higher prices for all farm products they use. In addition, every family of five persons must pay about \$5.65 a year in order to store the unused surpluses.

The International Federation of Agricultural Producers, with representatives of 25 countries, complained at its meeting in Nairobi recently about huge surpluses that have accumulated in many places but thought that a worse feature was the fact that the world's

<sup>1</sup> *Japan in der Welt*, 1936.

agricultural productive capacity has outstripped the effective demand. Unless something radical is done, the over-production problem will become incomparably worse. Mr. Salter told the American Farm Bureau Federation in December, 1948, that: "It is my considered opinion that science has made no more than a beginning in advancing agriculture in the United States. In fact, the big harvest is still ahead."

That "radical action" is already being taken is evident from Agriculture Secretary Benson's order for a 12.7 per cent cut in the wheat acreage for 1955 to reduce production.

That such action should have to be taken at a time when from fifty to seventy per cent of the world's population is hungry is a sad commentary on our present economic set-up. Secretary Benson would not have taken such a step had not 73 per cent of U. S. farmers voted for it. Their action must certainly seem strange, if not inhuman, to Japan's hungry millions. Here the farmers cannot raise enough food for their own people and 260,000 of them were forced to sell their land in the first six months of 1953 to get money to pay their debts. The blame for the scandalous cut-down on production does not rest upon the individual American farmer who is merely trying to protect himself. Rather, it falls upon our unhealthy world order which has so often been condemned by the recent Popes.

**A** SIMILARLY unhealthy picture appears concerning trade and industry in Japan, but it would require several pages to give the merest outline of the available material.<sup>2</sup> Zischka in the book quoted above points out that Japan became "Free" through industry some sixty or seventy years ago but then became "a slave to the

whole world because of that industry." Trade and industry enabled her to double her population during the past half century, but now she is suffering from unemployment and radical labor movements. She led the world last year in cotton-goods exports, but her foreign trade showed an unfavorable balance of \$1,135,000,000. In Tokyo at the present time bankruptcies are so frequent that the bankruptcy section of the court has been made independent and uses public halls for hearings.

Faced with a radical problem, Japanese are looking for radical solutions. Nor is it surprising that they began with birth control, largely under the inspiration of American officials attached to the Army of Occupation. As a result of the government-sponsored birth-control campaign the birth rate sank from 34 per thousand in 1947 to 21 in 1953. Even contraceptives are not always effective, and the government legalized abortion "for economic reasons." The government itself estimates that more than 1,000,000 abortions are now being performed yearly.

#### POPULATION GROWING

Nevertheless, the net population increase still amounts to about 1,000,000 yearly, and it is felt that new jobs will have to be found for about 700,000 persons yearly to take care of the increased number of working people. This prospect of more workers to provide for and more mouths to feed prompts the big newspapers to call upon the government to fix a "more effective population policy."

A tax on births has been recommended, and *Asahi*, Japan's largest newspaper, recently declared editorially that "while economic policies are important, the establishment of a policy to deal with population is a basic need for the welfare of Japan." It is no doubt due to agitation of this sort that the Population Council, an advisory

<sup>2</sup> This was surveyed in John E. Blewett, S.J., "Japan Revived," SOCIAL ORDER 3 (January, 1953) 12-18.



agency attached to the Welfare Ministry, made various recommendations to the government in August, 1954. Among these recommendations are the following: popularization of knowledge about family planning, low-price contraceptives and free instructions as to their use as well as a revision in the taxation and wage-payment systems in such a way as to discourage big families.

#### RIGHTIST OR LEFTIST?

Even ardent birth-control advocates admit, however, that results will not be fully realized for years, and other radical trends are becoming more and more apparent. Newspaper reports speak of 700 "rightist" organizations with 200,000 members, and as late as July 6, 1954, government investigators were quoted as saying that the "danger from ultra-nationalists is greater in Japan than from the communists." The civilian "National Salvation Movement Council" with 500,000 members and the Veterans' Association with 1,000,000 members have both been branded, justly or unjustly, as rightist.

Others claim that the great danger is to be found among the leftists, and one member of the Diet has said that "indirect invasion," i.e., a communist inspired civil war, is "seventy per cent ripe." The General Federation of Trade Unions recently elected a secretary-general with leftist policies, and the Japan Teachers' Union is also distinctly leftist. Some foreign observers in Tokyo feel that the chances of rightists and leftists are about equal—but that the chances of any middle-of-the-road government over a long period are slender indeed.

A prominent Senator told me in Washington last year that he felt even at the time the peace treaty was signed in San Francisco that another war is inevitable for Japan, simply because she cannot possibly live under the present set-up. If war breaks out, men every-

where will of course cry out again about Japanese "war criminals," but it seems that the real "war criminal" is that unwholesome world order often condemned by the Popes.

The most fundamental principle was enunciated by the Holy Father June 1, 1941, when he declared that the surface of the earth was created and prepared by God "for the use of all." It should be noted that His Holiness said for the *use* and not for the *ownership*. Pius did not challenge the nations' just title to land actually possessed, but in his Christmas address in 1939, he declared that

a fundamental postulate of any just and honorable peace is an assurance for all nations, great and small, powerful or weak, of their right to life and independence. The will of one nation to live must never mean the sentence to death passed upon another.

A further element was introduced by His Holiness in his Easter Sunday message in 1941 when he called upon all to pray for a peace not based upon the oppression and destruction of peoples but one which, while guaranteeing *the honor of all nations*, will satisfy their vital needs and insure the legitimate rights of all.

**P**OPE PIUS XII on December 24, 1941, as already noted, also postulated a new order which would give "nations less favored by nature" access to resources beyond their borders. The degree to which they must be allowed access to such resources can be deduced in principle from another statement made by the Holy Father in the 1940 Christmas message in which he said that "a new economic order has to be gradually evolved which gives all nations the means to secure for their citizens an appropriate standard of life."

A first and most conventional method of "access" to others' resources is trade. This function was recognized by the Atlantic Charter (1941) to

endeavor, with due respect for their existing obligations, to further the enjoyment by all states, great or small, victor or vanquished, of access, on equal terms, to the trade and to the raw materials of the world which are needed for their economic prosperity.

The principle is clear but its application is difficult. Freedom to buy is not real freedom when one has not money to pay for his purchases. It seems to be an accepted principle of international economics that purchases from country "X" must ultimately be paid for in the money of "X" and that that money can be obtained only from "X." The United States exported \$105,000,000,000 worth of goods between 1914 and 1950, but three-fourths of these exports were paid for with dollars either *given* or *loaned* to other countries because the United States had not bought enough goods from those countries.

Only six per cent of the world output of food enters into inter-continental trade. The reasons for this small amount, as well as for the scandal of over-production in some areas and starvation or undernourishment in others, are: 1. lack of foreign credits in hungry countries; 2. high cost of production in wealthier countries. If means could be found whereby excess resources could be exploited and food could be produced in the rich countries by the cheap labor of the hungry countries themselves, this problem could be somewhat solved. Of this more will be said later.

#### INTEGRATE EAST

Some foreign experts have suggested that the problems of Japan and the Far East could be solved by coordinating and integrating their economies. Such a plan has possibilities, of course. Certain steps have already been taken by the Orientals themselves to coordinate to some extent. Assuming, however, that all the nationalistic, political and ideological obstacles could be overcome,

it is still doubtful whether any regional agreement could provide an adequate solution for the poverty and misery existing in this area which embraces nearly half the population of the world. But even if such a plan did prove to be a complete success, it would not do away with the terrific contrasts existing between the crowded areas of the East and the wide open spaces in other parts of the world. In case coordination and integration did, therefore, succeed in making the Far East economically strong and self-sufficient, the rest of the world would be faced with a "Yellow Peril" such as it has never dreamed.

An ideal solution for the Japanese problem would be to allow her to purchase important areas somewhere in the world, but this seems next to impossible. It is said that Portugal was willing in 1934 to sell her portion of the island of Timor to Japan, but it is reported that the sale was vetoed by England which was then Portugal's principal creditor. More recently, Japanese businessmen suggested that Japan buy the island of New Guinea and suggested paying about \$8,000,000,000 for it, but the suggestion was immediately rejected in the foreign press.

#### EMIGRATION LIMITED

The natural remedy for Japan's problem and the one sanctioned by the greatest number of historical precedents is emigration. In appraising the possibilities of this solution, however, we must be realistic. In spite of birth control and abortions, the population of Japan is still increasing at the rate of a million a year. In order to maintain even the present unsatisfactory land-population equation, it would be necessary to send about 3,000 emigrants every day of the year, year after year. Assuming that we could stop the evils of artificial birth control and abortion, as indeed we should, the number would be approximately 4,000 daily. Even though the land-rich countries were

willing to accept such tremendous numbers of immigrants, it would be all but impossible to give them a start in the various countries of their adoption.

We must also remember the circumstances which have rigidly limited the possibilities of traditional immigration. Most of the land which could be easily developed is now occupied by private owners. Although only 3.5 million square miles are now under cultivation throughout the world, no less than 7.5 million square miles of arable land are available in the tropics alone. However, in most of these areas expensive sanitarional work would have to be done if immigrants settling there were not to die within a short time. The average immigrant is too poor to do such work and therefore settles in areas of relatively dense population.

If large numbers of immigrant workers were to settle in crowded areas, their presence would lead to labor troubles. If the immigrants were farmers, their work would upset the agricultural economy. Here we have the two main reasons for the legislation enacted in many countries during recent decades to restrict immigration. These reasons cannot be lightly dismissed.

**B**RAZIL is the only country now admitting Japanese immigrants on an appreciable scale—9,000 families (roughly 45,000 persons) during the next five years. That means 9,000 persons a year—but Japan's population is growing at the rate of 1,000,000 a year! The United States now admits about 185 Japanese immigrants on the regular quota. This quota is sufficient to counter-balance the population growth in Japan for only ninety-seven minutes a year!

Oil concessions held by mighty nations within the borders of weaker countries have long been a recognized feature of international statecraft, even though they have not infrequently led

to trouble when the weaker nations felt that they were being victimized. The question has therefore been raised as to whether agricultural concessions could not be introduced for the purpose of maintaining peace, especially if a plan can be worked out whereby these new concessions could be proven to be beneficial to both contracting countries.

The United States is now suffering from agricultural over-production. Just as a pipe-dream, let us suppose for a moment that seventeen million acres of good farm land in the United States were placed at the disposal of Japan in such a way that Japanese farmers could raise crops there and send the produce back to Japan. This would mean that American farm land would be reduced by about one-half of one per cent and would very materially reduce the surplus.

#### U. S. BENEFITS

Obviously, every American tax-payer would benefit by not having to buy unusable surpluses, and the farmer would still get good prices for his produce by merely selling on a supply-and-demand market. For Japan, these 17,000,000 acres would mean that her entire arable surface has been *doubled*, and she would not have to use her foreign credit for the purchase of three or four million tons of food. This money could, on the other hand, be used to buy raw materials for her industries to provide work for many workers in the homeland.

We have been writing of this plan as a "pipe-dream," for it is evident that a plan involving such a vast area as 17,000,000 acres would never be accepted in Congress. Less of a pipe-dream is the suggestion that the United States should make just one small experiment involving an area not more than ten square miles.

If the United States undertook such an experiment, our government could say to all the other land-rich countries: "Japan's land-and-population equation constitutes a danger for all of us in the

future. In order to obviate that danger, we are experimenting with the idea of giving her an agricultural concession in order to see whether she will be able to solve her own problem in this way. Will you go along with us?"

With such an approach, it is to be hoped that many of the land-rich countries would cooperate—always, of course, on a basis of mutual benefit. For the South American countries, Africa and Australia it would obviously be a benefit to have even relatively small areas in their hinterland developed by allowing the Japanese to work there on a long term lease.

Such agricultural concessions should, of course, be small and widely scattered so as to prevent the development of dangerous minorities anywhere. Perhaps none should be more than ten miles square. If they were scattered over many parts of the globe, Japan could raise wheat in some places, corn, rice or cotton (for clothing) in others, cattle and sheep for meat, leather and wool in other areas. In this way she would be able to provide herself with the essentials of food and clothing and would be able by merely juggling her own internal economy to start vast public works at home in order to provide work and a living for a greatly increased population.

ONE by-product of this plan, if carried out, would be to force Japan to throw the whole weight of her influence into the balance in favor of world peace since war anywhere would be a threat to some or many of her *lives*. Another by-product would be the defeat of communism in Japan and its weakening throughout the Far East. When I outlined the plan to four members of the National Diet in Tokyo, one of them declared that "with the exception of the communists, every member of the Diet would vote in its favor."

As stated above, an essential condition for the plan is that the approach

to it must always be from the viewpoint of *mutual benefit*. It is believed that if such an approach is taken, the plan would be a real financial benefit to every taxpayer in the over-production countries and to the national welfare of the underdeveloped countries. It would be a benefit to the whole world to the extent to which it contributed to world peace. The plan would likewise be in harmony with the Pope's basic principle of allowing an underprivileged nation to benefit by the "use" of resources beyond its borders.

In areas that are already developed, e.g., good farm lands in over-production countries, only a relatively few Japanese would be needed to produce ample food for the needs of the homeland, and the number of people in each "concession" could be determined by fixing the size of each individual farm. Politically, the concessions would remain an integral part of the country where they are situated, but economically they would be an integral part of Japan. The Japanese who would be sent out to farm the concession land would in no way compete with local labor, nor would they in any way disturb the local agricultural economy.

As a last point in favor of the plan we may mention that even the smallest experiment made to test its validity would be an experiment in a new kind of statecraft—and no one who has lived through the last forty years will deny that something new in the way of international statecraft is long overdue. World War II cost men almost \$1,385,000,000,000 in war costs and property damage (which averages to \$2,800 for every family of five persons in the whole world today) and over 22,000,000 dead and 34,000,000 wounded. It certainly seems worth while to experiment with an idea which might prevent a new war more terrible and expensive still.

# CITIZENS, PRINCIPLES and the FUTURE CITY

JAMES R. SCHNEID

*The task is to sharpen the sense of responsibility of the normal citizen and, above all, to arm his good intentions with the weapon of foresight.*—Ferdinand A. Hermens

IN the spring of 1937 on lower Manhattan with the determination and leadership of John C. Cort, "an organized school in action" based on ideas from the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* came into being. The papal appeal for associations "side by side with these [neutral] trade unions" was the germ that sparked the birth of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists.

Within eighteen months, starting from little more than the proposal to give thorough moral training to its members, a newspaper was founded, a labor school established and the presence of Actists was noted in union halls as well as on many a picket line. With leaflets the A.C.T.U. penetrated anti-union territory dominated by Mayor Hague. Enthusiastic young lawyers soon made possible a strong right arm for the Actists—the Catholic Labor Defense League.

In the pursuit of sound, democratic union activity, the A.C.T.U. supported men like Protestant Walter Reuther and Jewish Harry Block and opposed, with sufficient reason, certain Catholics. From the beginning, this new organization probed and attacked New York's hoodlum-packed International Longshoremen's Association. So as to protect various union members, the League lawyers took cases to court. The his-

tory of labor will show that a few audacious men interested in justice initiated another force—and a better one—in the sphere of unionism.

## A NEW WORLD

We have heard a good deal in recent years about evidence pointing toward a new age, a new Christendom. There has even been published a work entitled, *A World to Reconstruct*. The world has also been given "a rallying cry to all those who are ready to ponder and weigh the grandeur of their mission and responsibility."<sup>1</sup>

We should be able to gather quite easily from these challenges that, first, a new and better world cannot be had by leaving the national or international community to the forces of evil;<sup>2</sup> secondly, that the job is a difficult and immense one ("Before the size of the task, the isolated Christian is powerless");<sup>3</sup> and finally, that the new knighthood for this struggle needs to

<sup>1</sup> Pius XII, *Christmas Message of 1942*.

<sup>2</sup> H. A. Rommen, *The State in Catholic Thought*, Herder, St. Louis, 1945, p. 612. A companion paper along this line is the late Waldemar Gurian's "The Mask of the Devil," *Scrip.* (Notre Dame quarterly), August, 1942, but it is no longer available.

<sup>3</sup> Emmanuel Cardinal Suhard, *Growth or Decline?*, Fides, Chicago, 1948, p. 108.



be equipped with common aspirations and principles.<sup>4</sup>

WITH something like the above in mind, Don Luigi Sturzo once stated that there ought to be formed an association of citizens having an "ethical urge" to impregnate our political and social structures with Christian values and ideas and at another time wrote that "Christian theories will bear no weight, even as theories (apart from school exercises) if there are no politico-social currents which give them actualization and experimentation."<sup>5</sup>

With these words, Don Sturzo presents what is known as a positive engagement and, as such, it implies positive ideas and goals. A purely negative outlook offers the great temptation to align ourselves with any forces that appear to be directed against the secularistic or atheistic left. In other words, with the purely defensive position we are often left with no choice but to consider our enemies' enemies as our friends—when very likely they are not.

The years leading up to the fratricidal strife on the Iberian peninsula and the march of brown and black shirts were indeed fatal ones. Those who had no concern for truth or justice were permitted to go ahead while we, convinced of our inability to change things, performed a constant withdrawal.

We re-read the history of these fatal years and we tremble with rage when we consider those turning-points where a slight push would have sufficed to reverse

the machine of death. No one budged. What was wrong? We should not have lacked courage if we had not lacked ideas. Our stupor, or cowardice, were nothing but the effect of our doubt. We did not believe ourselves capable of constructing the future. Incapable of imagining a new city and a new dawn, we gazed stupefied at the great cemeteries which spread out under the moon.<sup>6</sup>

#### SEES NEW VIGOR

Conditions have changed somewhat in recent years. Political parties influenced by and for a democracy of Christian inspiration have achieved some remarkable success in Europe. The positions attained by the Christian Democratic Union (CDU) of Germany, the Popular Republican Party (MRP) of France and the Christian Democrats of Italy have, no doubt, influenced small like-minded groups, often nameless, as far away as South America. (From recent news reports, it seems as if dictator Peron is fearful of embryonic Christian Democrats.) Likewise affected are the exiles who form a living nucleus waiting to restore Christian principles to the imprisoned nations stretching from the Baltic to the Balkans.

These small groups are all thinking, more and more, of the future and thinking of it in political terms. But for all of this, can we say that sufficient emphasis and analysis have been placed on the political? The works of Professor Hermens point out with clarity that, on the temporal scene, *our fate* is wrapped up in politics.<sup>7</sup> We

<sup>4</sup> Jacques Maritain, *Christianity and Democracy*, Scribners, New York, 1944. Also see Sister Corbett, *People or Masses*, Catholic University of America Press, Washington, D. C., 1950.

<sup>5</sup> Luigi Sturzo, "The Philosophic Background of Christian Democracy," *The Review of Politics*, Notre Dame, 9 (January, 1947) 3-15.

<sup>6</sup> Yves Simon, *The March to Liberation*, Tower Press, Milwaukee, 1942, p. 6; also his *The Road to Vichy, 1918-1938*, Sheed and Ward, New York, 1942.

<sup>7</sup> "Politics and Ethics," *Thought*, 29 (Spring, 1954) 32-50; *Democracy or Anarchy?*, University of Notre Dame Press, Notre Dame, 1941; *The Tyrants' War and the Peoples' Peace*, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1944; *Europe Between Democracy and*

certainly cannot picture any world, of today or tomorrow, without the political, and we can easily see that deterioration of this primary order gives scope for tyranny or anarchy.

Without liberty, man is dehumanized; he, losing all individuality, is pressed into a herd and deprived of sufficient reason for living at all. Freedom cannot exist in a political vacuum nor under the hard heel of a Leviathan. And Catholics have been called to a revaluation in order to espouse liberty more effectively and to "demonstrate Christianity in action on a scale that counts."<sup>9</sup> The dynamic, reforming aspects of Christian teaching in modern times begin, in at least one respect, with Leo XIII's encyclical *Diuernum* on civil government. Authority and liberty have much in common.

#### ARDENT LEADERS

Men who know what they want and who have *visions of freedom* are animated by a flame. Yves Simon calls this flame a *heroic faith* and spells it out in his book, *The March to Liberation*. In part:

A heroic faith has the quality of spontaneity which contrasts with the purely rational quality of the utopian idea. In large measure it is born of action. It is above all the work of men engaged in action. More precisely, it is the work of men engaged on a collective and difficult task, so difficult indeed that it throws out of gear the ordinary functioning of reason... At the beginning there is generally a very limited circle: a few men who know what they want.<sup>9</sup>

The background of the particular secular (or civic) faith that concerns

us here originates with the struggle for emancipation in Ireland by Daniel O'Connell against almost insuperable odds. We see the same spirit with Montalembert in the French House of Peers and again at Malines. It extends down to Marc Sangnier in the Crypt at Collège Stanislas and, years later, when several of his followers courageously entered and were tempered in the crucible of the French Resistance. Others, also, were caught in this flame and pioneered for Christian liberty and an extended and healthier democracy. It is a task that demands a universal collaboration.<sup>10</sup>

IN order to bring about this necessary collaboration, the engagement envisaged here begins with cells for political and civic action. Since these groups are to be political—though not a political party—they are autonomous in the sense that they will not represent the body of American Catholics nor serve as an organ for ecclesiastical authorities. While always speaking and acting politically in the name of its own members in so far as they are democratic and Catholic, they are nevertheless to be associated with all groups and parties defending the dignity of man and the natural rights of the person. Their general objective, therefore, is to advance a sane democracy while holding aloft certain principles that serve as inspiration, as guide-posts and as goals to be achieved in a step-by-step process.

The forces of evil know what they want; they are neither unorganized nor inactive. The strongest of these forces began with but a handful of members. Who would have realized that the

*Anarchy*, University of Notre Dame Press, 1951.

<sup>9</sup> Michael P. Fogarty, "The Search for Catholicity," *The Commonwealth*, 60 (August 13, 1954) 461-462; also, William P. Clancy, "The 'Liberal Catholic,'" *The Commonwealth*, 56 (July 11, 1952) 335-337.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 17.

<sup>10a</sup> "An ever increasing number of Christians have awakened and have realized that the fact of deChristianization presents a phenomenon which is no longer local but worldwide and must be dealt with as such." Suhard, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

meetings of some obscure Russian revolutionaries in 1903 would mean the formation of a party of world-historic importance?

Our slogan ought to be: "Let us be ready for the great struggles of tomorrow." Tomorrow demands an organized and alert citizenry.<sup>11</sup> What community of ideas and aspirations should there be in preparation for the events to come? Should there not be, side by side with political parties and civic groups, associations similar to the A.C.T.U.? Can we go a step further and say that there should be—

an association of forward-looking Catholic citizens, rooted in civic friendship, desiring to be a movement in favor of Liberty without defiance of Authority, aspiring to reflect social, liberal and democratic facets, related in thought and activity to those who have pioneered for a democracy of Christian inspiration, dedicated to the promotion of a humanism and a sociology that are integral, and who are united on the following issues:

1. The primacy of morality in political life and in economic and social relations—this morality to be founded on the Christian tradition and on respect for human personality and its rights.

<sup>11</sup>"In the order of strictly temporal, social, and political activities, it is the normal course of things that the initiative should come from below, that is from laymen acting at their own risk and peril." Jacques Maritain, *True Humanism*, Scribners, New York, 1937, p. 265.

"Politics, which are so badly spoken of because they can so easily lead to forgetfulness of moral values, are in themselves a civic duty. . . . Politics, under any regime, mean direct or indirect co-operation. From the moral standpoint they can become co-operation for good or co-operation for evil. The enlightened conscience of each man is summoned to say its decisive word. . . . The moment that such (Christian) principles are disputed in the plane of actual politics, it is the duty of Catholics to reaffirm them both in theory and in action." Sturzo, *Politics and Morality*, Burns Oates and Washbourne, London, 1938, p. 94.

2. The priority of the political; that definite political patterns require moral analysis; and that certain forms of political organization have their own dynamics, which operate independently of the will of those concerned.

3. The importance of a two-party system in any government that is truly of the people.

4. The necessity for civil and political liberty, with a just balance between liberty and authority, as well as between the individual and society, in every type of modern society.

5. That stability is essential for the family, the primary unit of society.

6. The fostering of the community interests of labor and capital which implies (where feasible) the *gradual* formation, from below, of *natural* associations (Industry Councils?)—defined as an official public body (comparable to a municipality), intermediary between particular enterprises and the state and charged with the management of the common good within a determined industry.

7. The function of the juridical order—in its relations and institutions, both national and international—is to promote solidarity and to increase society's vitality and that this order needs to be based on the natural law.

8. Greater freedom of emigration and immigration for the peoples of the world.

9. Permanent *political* and *juridical* union of states on a basis of morality, with the progressive formation of international law.

10. The conviction that war should no longer be recognized as a legitimate means of settling international disputes, and must be replaced by a system of voluntary or compulsory arbitration or by the decisions of an international court of justice, as the case may be.

These men, engaged in action, would be the *Friends of the People and Freedom!*



# YOU and the National Debt

*Its Future Is Everybody's Concern*

CHARLES A. FRANKENHOFF, S.J.

THE specter of national debt looms large on the economic horizon of the average American citizen. He hears, for example, that every man, woman and child in the country owes \$1,700 as his share. He reads in editorials that debt is equivalent to inflation and is a constant threat to the nation's vitality. The present national debt of \$278 billion<sup>1</sup> represents a sevenfold increase from its pre-World War II amount of \$41 billion. To this the reaction is, "What are we doing to our children and their children?" In many minds the debt has assumed the proportions of an economic Frankenstein.

Concern for public debt is not a modern phenomenon. The Scotch economist, Adam Smith, wrote gloomily in 1776, "The progress of the enormous debts which at present oppress, and will in the long run probably ruin, all the great nations of Europe, has been pretty uniform."<sup>2</sup> Across the Atlantic, Alexander Hamilton shocked his more conservative brethren in the newly formed and poverty-stricken United States government by proposing that it assume at par the staggering foreign and domestic debt of \$78 million. He argued that public debt would stabilize public credit and stimulate business activity.

During the Napoleonic wars, William Pitt placed the tottering British public credit on a firm basis by linking the national debt with the will and ability of the people to pay taxes.

## UNDERSTANDING DEBT

Five times previously in our history wars built up great national debts. Unlike other nations, however, the United States followed the rigorous policy of amortizing debts by taxes. In spite of this policy our postwar transition activities have been characterized by inflation. The financial history of World War II has yet to be written, but it is already clear that inflation played an important role. Concern over the problem of the national debt is well justified by experience. At the same time, fear is only the beginning of wisdom; there is a present need for understanding our national debt.

In his recent budget message to Congress, President Eisenhower outlined "three broad considerations of national policy" which guide his plans for government spending: 1. preserving political liberties, 2. effective encouragement of economic growth and prosperity, 3. stabilizing the value of the dollar. The present debt belongs to an American economy whose national income has expanded from \$68 billion in 1939 to \$360 billion in 1954. The major commitment of the government's fiscal policy is to maintain this expansion in terms of real income.

Against this background three key aspects of the present national debt are selected for a brief consideration: 1. the

<sup>1</sup> The President's 1955 Budget Message places the national debt as of December 31, 1954, at \$278.3 billion. This figure, of course, does not include the state and local government debt (\$28.5 billion in 1953).

<sup>2</sup> Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Modern Library, New York, 1937, p. 863.

debt as public, 2. the debt as a burden to posterity, 3. the debt as inflationary. The phrase "debt management" is much in vogue now. The consideration of these three points may be regarded as a necessary preliminary to any discussion of debt management.<sup>3</sup>

#### DEBT AS PUBLIC

In these days when mortgages, consumer credit plans and personal loans are commonplace, there is little need to explain the meaning of private debt.<sup>4</sup> When John Doe negotiates a personal loan from the local bank, there is a transfer of new funds to his account. Later he will repay this loan with interest. In this way he exchanges future income for additional present income. A nation which borrows money from foreign investors goes through essentially the same process. When a nation determines to supply its capital needs by borrowing from the *domestic* economy, however, no new funds enter the economy. The immediate effect is the reallocation of resources into the government sector of the economy. Ultimately, this redistribution of capital for government purposes (at least, in the United States) rests on the decision of the voters.

Assuming that Congress has approved a particular expenditure and has determined to borrow the necessary funds, what occurs in the economy? Various groups throughout the country, e.g., private citizens, insurance companies, nonprofit institutions, banks, support the new government bond issue. On their part this represents a voluntary surrender of present

purchasing power in favor of the government needs. Each buyer of U. S. bonds will, of course, have good economic motives for his investment.

THE government, too, will have good reasons, social as well as economic, for securing revenue by borrowing rather than by increasing taxes at the time. Immediate construction for national defense, for example, cannot wait for additional tax receipts. In any event, the point to be made is that government borrows money in order to spend it. This money, spent within the country, directly increases the national income during the period of expenditure.<sup>5</sup>

What about the problem of paying for this loan? The money which was needed might have been taken in one lump sum from the taxpayers at the time. The decision to borrow was really a decision to distribute the burden over a number of years. Before considering this aspect of the debt, however, the factors which specify it as public may be summarized: 1. the debt of the United States government has sprung from social as well as from economic needs; 2. money borrowed by the government increases the national income directly in the period it is expended and indirectly insofar as it is used to increase the nation's production capacity; 3. the national debt is owned by American citizens and institutions; the interest they receive is definitely a part of the national income.

#### POSTERITY'S BURDEN

Some economists are emphatic in denying that the burden of paying for public debt (internally owned) falls upon future generations.<sup>6</sup> Still there

<sup>3</sup> "Debt management" generally refers to that highly technical segment of fiscal policy which is directly concerned with changes in the structure of the debt—interest rates, maturity, dates and security issues.

<sup>4</sup> In 1951, total private debt (noncorporate) was \$122 billion; net corporate debt amounted to \$156 billion.

<sup>5</sup> The inflationary aspects of government war expenditures will be seen later.

<sup>6</sup> See Paul Samuelson, *Economics*, McGraw-Hill, New York, 1951, p. 410.

is the fact, for example, that while interest charges on government debt were less than \$1 billion in 1939, fifteen years later the national debt costs the American payer \$6.6 billion. Some of this debt is due to postwar deficits, but the major part of it (\$215 billion) was borrowed during World War II.

Is it fair to put this burden on present taxpayers? This complex question may, at least in part, be solved with reference to the earlier analysis of the debt as public. War offers a clear case of social and political needs taking precedence over the purely economic. At the same time World War II certainly stimulated the productive capacity of the economy which posterity has received. The American economy of 1955 is producing national income at an annual level of \$360 billion as compared to the 1939 production of \$68 billion. Posterity has more dollars with which to pay the increased interest charges on the national debt.

Since government borrowing involves fundamentally the distribution of a heavy tax burden over time, the ultimate solution of the debt problem rests in the people's ability to pay taxes. The nation's tax capacity is directly related to taxable income and may be measured to some extent by the estimated effect of increased taxes on the economic incentives to work and to invest. A tax program which lowers incentives will cripple the nation's ability to produce. Then a large debt becomes a heavy burden.

### INFLATED DOLLARS

In his several messages to Congress early this year, the President stressed the country's need for stable dollars. The true value of a dollar is to be measured in terms of the goods and services it can command. If the dollar which could buy a dinner in 1939 can only buy a breakfast in 1955, it has become inflated. Inflation is quickly

detected in rising price levels. The present consumer dollar will buy about half as much as the pre-war 1939 dollar.

In a true sense the present national debt is a "war baby," but in what way is war related to inflation? The answer is not difficult. Measures taken in behalf of national defense accelerate production and, therefore, increase income. But the government needs a large share of the national product—up to 42 per cent in World War II. This means that the rest of the economy is left with more dollars to compete for fewer goods. Without strict price control and rationing of available goods, e.g., butter, gasoline, clothing, the price level rises rapidly. In fact, prices during the war only rose ten per cent. (The moderate rise was due to the work of the OPA, the lack of consumer durables, e.g., washing machines, typewriters, and a genuine spirit of cooperation on the part of consumers.) Immediately following the war, however, prices jumped an additional 33 per cent.<sup>7</sup> The transition from a wartime economy, therefore, left the country with a legacy of inflated dollars.

### PRESENT DEBT AS INFLATIONARY

Turning now to the contemporary public debt, in what way is it inflationary? This question may be answered by asking another: Who owns the debt?<sup>8</sup> As of 1952, \$144 billion or 55 per cent of the national debt was

<sup>7</sup> At this time the monetary policy of the Federal Reserve was subordinated to the fiscal policy of the Treasury in its desire to maintain interest rates on the debt at their low level (two to 2.5 per cent). Open market operations, therefore, could not be used to check the rapidly expanding money supply.

<sup>8</sup> See Charles Abbott, *The Federal Debt*, Twentieth Century Fund, New York, 1953, Part III. (Contains an excellent analysis by the Federal Debt Committee.)

owned in behalf of private individuals, e.g., insurance companies, mutual savings banks, social security accounts. These bonds represented genuine savings and, as such, were non-inflationary. The remainder of the debt was held as liquid assets by four main groups; Federal Reserve banks, commercial banks, business corporations, and State and local governments. Among these groups of national debt owners the commercial banks have a particular significance in the problem of inflation.<sup>9</sup>

The commercial banks in 1952 held \$60 billion (23 per cent of the total debt) in United States government securities. By November, 1954, these holdings stood at an estimated \$70 billion. When we recall that the commercial banks can create deposits up to a ratio of 4:1 against its reserves (which are mainly government bonds), the inflationary possibilities become clear. The supply of money in the American economy, which amounted to \$65 billion in 1939 and swelled to \$165 billion in 1946, still grows at a rapid rate under the influx of these newly-created deposits. Of course, the production of goods and services (our real national income) has also increased but at a considerably slower pace. In this manner the share of the national debt held by the commercial banking system becomes a fertile source of inflated dollars and serves to undermine the original value of the great segment of public debt in private savings. This rapid devaluation of the dollar is both unjust and uneconomic. It penalizes the private citizen for his support of

the government; it breeds an economic instability which is in radical opposition to the national policy affirmed by the President.

#### CONCLUSION

Two keys have been used to penetrate the enigma of the national debt. The first key is debt ownership. Its application gave a broad view of the debt as part of the American economy, an expanding economy with a vast potential for production and employment. Further examination revealed that the major portion of the debt is held as savings for many private citizens and that the interest they receive becomes part of the national income. On the other hand, there are large groups in the country who hold United States government securities as liquid assets. Among these the commercial banks, by their creation of new deposits, foster the rapid expansion of the nation's money supply which is at the root of inflation.

The second key to debt understanding is debt "ownership," i.e., of those who owe the debt. Again there is the broad view of the national debt (but this time as owed!) as part of the economy in which it grew and to which it contributed. Many taxpayers are also debt owners and, consequently, receive interest as income. (Nor is this exchange a mere pocket-to-pocket transfer. Compulsory taxes exercise a far more direct influence on economic incentives and income distribution than does government borrowing.) It was seen that the crux of the problem of debt "ownership" lies in the nation's ability to pay taxes. This ability depends, to a large extent, on the presence of stable dollars in an expanding economy.

The national debt still remains a challenge to the American people. The proper solution of this problem is the direct concern of each bondholder, each taxpayer and, in fact, each consumer.

<sup>9</sup> The Federal Reserve banks in 1952 held \$23 billion of the debt, but not for private profit. It serves two main purposes: 1. to control bank reserves (by the sale or purchase of U. S. bonds on the market); 2. to back the \$25 billion in Federal Reserve notes which serve the currency needs of the economy.

## A Small Note on

# the Common Good

B. W. DEMPSEY, S.J.

**M**ATERIAL things exist to aid the perfection of human personality. For the most part, of course, things aid human personalities which own them, i. e., to which they are wholly subject.

But such dominion excludes sharing. Material things can be shared and fully possessed by the sharers only by division and consequent diminution. This is true even of spiritual things to the extent that they may be substantially associated with matter—as King Solomon pointed out in a dramatic episode. The fact that material goods cannot be shared and fully owned without division occasions endless discord in the economic sphere.

### SHARING MULTIPLIES

Among finite things, however, the acts and objects of the intellect and will, knowledge and love, are not diminished by being shared—indeed, they may be said to be augmented. To share one's knowledge with another in no way decreases one's own possession of it. The sum total of knowledge is increased by sharing, and the sharing may very easily be the occasion of an increase in one's own knowledge. At the very least, we can acknowledge the truth of the observation: "The best way to keep knowledge is to give it away."

To bring another to embrace and commit himself to the same good as one embraces involves an increase in love, for love exists where it did not live before. Such sharing may also be the occasion of an increase in one's own love.

Knowledge and love can be shared without being lessened.

In economics, there are two ultimate factors of production: man and nature, nature being the whole material world which is not man. Paradoxically, the multiplication of goods by these factors is the result of a two-fold division. Man's productivity is enormously enhanced by the division of labor (*divisio operis*). The productivity of nature is likewise enormously enhanced by the division of resources (*divisio rerum*), commonly referred to as the institution of private property.

### KNOWLEDGE MAKES INCREASE

The source of the multiplication of goods occasioned by this twofold division is knowledge. In the division of labor, this is manifest. By concentrating on specific tasks, man learns, sometimes abstractly, sometimes in manual or other skills and coordinations. This increase of knowledge is the source of the goods multiplied by division.

In the division of resources, the same is true. Increased production in private property comes, not only from increased incentive to care for one's own but from the knowledge derived from specialization. The farmer learns what crops his fields will yield, when to plant and when to reap, on *this* ground in *this* climate, and so on of the culture of animals. But the same is true of the possessor of a house, a machine, an instrument (and analogously of a sales territory or a set of records). He comes to *know* how to use them, to get more out of them with less effort.



THE measure of the justice of the institution of private property is its efficiency in reducing common resources to common use by proper ownership. The measure is the same for the division of labor, of which there may be excess or defect.

From the increased productivity made possible by the twofold division arises greater interdependence among specialized persons. From an increase and from appreciation of this interdependence arises an increase in love. And in the increased economic goods made available to all sharers, there are grounds and reason for an increase in love. To the extent that an increase in love does not flow from the divisions, they are ill conceived or administered. (In this context, love means comity, or civil amity, or social cooperation.)

The increase in productivity is a good which is common to all parties of the two divisions. The increased production is a good which is common to all. But the degree to which the goods are common depends also upon the degree to which love has been increased with knowledge. In the economic order, therefore, the common good is promoted when the institutions of the division of labor and the division of resources are so designed and administered as to increase knowledge and love.

Social justice obliges all to contribute to the efficient design and function of these institutions that knowledge and love may be increased.

The dominant role of knowledge in the increase of production is most clear in that combination of man and nature and time which results in capital goods. To have all our capital goods destroyed would be a great disaster. To have everybody, overnight, forget how to count would be an even greater disaster. Our control over material nature depends upon our knowledge not only

of complex principles of the sciences but also on basic, abstract, yet simple relations, like numbers.

Love, however, depends, in the first instance, on knowledge; we cannot love the Holy Spirit if we know not if there be a Holy Spirit. To the extent that the institution of private property operates in such a way that large numbers of people are excluded from the experience of owning capital goods (experience is a form of knowledge) and from the knowledge which makes possible an understanding and appreciation of them, capital goods, while increasing knowledge among some and even increasing the benefits of knowledge among all, may yet be an obstacle to the increase of love. To solve this problem by turning capital goods over to the state does not make them "common" but makes them more remote—thus compounding the problem.

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# Evading Taxes

## *Can't Be Justified in Conscience*

PHILIP S. LAND, S.J.

"SOUTH of the Loire we are no longer masters of the situation." This is no field report from a World War II battleground but an admission from beleaguered tax collectors in southern France who are waging a losing battle against the tax-evading followers of Pierre Poujade.

Recently Poujade carried his campaign into the Paris region, where 100,000 tradesmen and artisans cheered his plea that they pay no taxes until the government undertakes fiscal reforms. Among the reforms are elimination of penalties against tax dodgers, amnesty for past offenders, ending inspections to detect tax frauds.

Poujade may not have the 800,000 followers he claims, but the editor of *La Vie Française*, M. René Sedillot, assured *New York Times Magazine* readers in October, 1953, that tax evasion is widespread in France. "The Frenchman enters and leaves the world a bad tax payer" and, as a consequence, "has worn down every regime through history." And why will a Frenchman who "wouldn't steal a centime from a neighbor steal from the government?" Because, says Sedillot, "every Frenchman lives for himself, not for the body politic."

It does not serve our purpose to go into the complexities of this tragic state of affairs, to weigh, for instance, the guilt of tax evaders against that

of those who use France's numerous parties to win legal tax exemptions for themselves until the bulk of the burden is borne by the powerless.

But there is something in this situation worth pondering. The situation has been variously attributed to "individualism," to the idea that power is an instrument for exploiting people, to "centuries of conflict with tax collectors."

### SOME MORALISTS APPROVED

However, I believe another cause has contributed to this moral anarchy, namely, the view widely propounded over generations that the obligation to pay taxes does not bind in conscience but only requires us to accept punishment when caught. Curiously enough the arguments alleged in support of this freedom to evade were just about those Poujade screamed at his cheering followers in 1955: graft, waste, inefficiency. Another argument was that when so many (prompted by belief that revenues were wasted) evaded taxes, no individual could be bound in conscience to carry an unequal burden. Others argued that a secularist and atheist government, which knew nothing of conscience, could not intend to bind others under pain of sin.

Admittedly there have been times when general and ineradicable corruption has all but obliterated the public good of the people. Kings, at times, have gouged taxes from their people

to support personal quarrels, expensive courts and mistresses. Other rulers adopted the vicious practice of "farming out" tax collecting to ruthless individuals who wrung as much wealth from the people as possible. The despised "publicans" of the gospel were such men.

But if in recent times the Western world has not had such arbitrary rule and helplessness to root out abuses, do not promoters of freedom to evade taxes *disedify* (in the root meaning of the word)? When they make each aggrieved citizen his own tax assessor, they open a road to anarchy. In this light we can well question whether it is not a tragic neglect not to urge positive, vigorous, communal action against corruption. The failure to stimulate citizens to sacrifice private gain for the sake of establishing good faith in the community actually helps us to bring about that deterioration of political order which gives excuse for anarchist desertion of a government.

**W**HETHER the French situation is this bad and whether moral teachers have actually contributed to this social sickness, I cannot positively say. But I am certain that it would be tragic if moral teachings based on an unhappy situation that evidently does not exist in the United States induced us to embrace such anti-social attitudes and practices.

Recently an American writer gave a qualified approval of the proposition that "many tax laws, as actually enacted, lack the binding force that would make it sinful to violate them." The basis of this claim was that "much revenue actually raised by taxation is unnecessary for the purpose for which it is intended and that much more is actually wasted or misappropriated by incompetent and unscrupulous public officials."

Note that the writer is talking explicitly about violation of tax law, i.e., *tax evasion*. We are not considering the many measures of *tax avoidance* provided by the law itself which permits us to minimize taxable income or other methods of avoidance ("loop-holes") that can be discovered in the most carefully drafted law. For purposes of simplification, our discussion is concerned only with federal income taxes.

We cannot evaluate this statement unless we fully appreciate one important principle concerning the morality of tax laws. That principle is that you cannot decide whether a given law binds in conscience or not by advancing arguments or authorities which are *based on experience elsewhere*. You must decide each case in the light of its own concrete situation: for us, by a study of how taxes are levied and revenues used *here in the United States*.

It is my contention that an analysis of tax levies in this country, far from supporting the position mentioned above, shows it to be almost a libel.

#### FACTS BELIE STAND

Editorial duties in the recent past forced me to follow with close attention the administration's efforts to shape up one year's tax program. As I waded through the mass of print on the budget and tax proposals and then through the Congressional debates on both measures, I was strongly impressed by the amount of time and effort given to the job. As I reflected on the quality of the effort, I wondered how much more could be required before one would be prepared to accept the outcome of these efforts as a law binding in conscience.

Through weeks and even months, the administration made every effort, consulted numerous experts to see that the budget included only justifiable items.



Testimony pro and con was sought; anyone who wanted a hearing got it.

The same experts and witnesses appeared later before Congressional committees. Businessmen and trade associations told why certain taxes would hurt. Labor spokesmen urged reductions in the lower brackets. Congressmen took to radio and television to warn of evil consequences they professed to find in some measures. The *Congressional Record* grew fat as debates ran on. Columnists and editorialists found their way into the *Record's* supplement.

Despite the welter of disagreement, budget and tax programs had to be—and were—enacted. And in the showdown our representatives voted in our name a tax law they felt they could present to the people.

AS I reflect on these efforts of executives and legislature, I ask myself where among men in organized society you can find a more reasonable exercise of true political prudence. Their action was a prudential judgment. By that I mean a decision that is reached after due deliberation and consultation (and, in a democracy, after fair representation of affected interests). It is reached because it is the best judgment of authorized lawmakers about the proper means to achieve some objective required for the common good. When lawmakers thus exercise their authority under the necessity to act and after using the information available to them, they are doing all that reasonable men can require.

Their collective judgment may have been mistaken. Had the voices of the best informed been heard or the exigencies of party politics or the stubbornness of human wills been less effective, ways to cut taxes might have appeared. And possible unfortunate consequences of some taxes might have been better

appraised. But prudence does not rule out the possibility of error and human frailty. The best of legislators will at times lean with the winds of pressure. And in that admixture of human motives which seems inevitable in human conduct, something less than heroic uprightness will appear. But we dare not set our legislatures a standard of perception or of integrity that can be expected only of a Congress of Angelic Intelligences.

From all this it follows that we have in our tax enactments the very essence of law—an ordination of reason for the sake of the common good. Here is verified that inner necessity between an end (the common good) and means (taxes duly proportioned to a reasonable budget). Authorities have legislated the best end-means relationship humanly discoverable under the circumstances. Nothing more is needed to bind conscience. It sees a moral necessity in the enactment. The will embraces the necessity presented to it.

#### NECESSITY MAKES OBLIGATION

It is sometimes argued that laws cannot bind in conscience unless legislators so *intend*; this argument assumes that the only sanction is the penalty attached to violation. But this simply cannot be so.<sup>1</sup> Moral obligation arises not from another human will but from the necessary connection between the line of conduct required by law (here, paying taxes) and achievement of the common good.<sup>2</sup>

If the careful consideration which

<sup>1</sup> On the whole problem of penal law, see the scholarly treatment by Thomas E. Davitt, S.J., *The Nature of Law*, Herder, St. Louis, 1951, 274 pp.

<sup>2</sup> Because the tax ordinance is a definitive provision of means to the promotion of the common good, it is justice which immediately commands the tax payer's response. Ultimately, of course, this obligation involves obedience to God, the divine Law Giver.

precedes a tax enactment does not produce a law binding in conscience, it is hard to conceive where such a law may be found. This, at least, may be said: The burden of proof that lies on those who presume to question the prudential judgment their government makes is indeed grave.

One final point: Legislators do not pretend to have achieved the *best possible law*. They only claim that it is the best possible under the circumstances. They hope to improve it as they gain experience.<sup>2</sup>

#### OTHER REMEDIES

*Improving* justice through better tax laws is the opportunity for the aggrieved citizen. Let him organize a group, exercise his franchise, pound out angry blasts on his typewriter. Let those who believe they see mistakes (and the way to correct them) exercise their responsibility to build public opinion and inform their representatives. If theirs be the voice of reason, it will eventually be heard. They may have to await political developments. Their suggestions may come out twisted and transformed as they are fitted into the many-sided complex of the nation's social and political purposes. But they will be heard.

Now we can look briefly at the three specific grounds on which writers justify tax evasion: 1. taxes go to grafters; 2. they are lost in waste and inefficiency; 3. they are levied for unreasonable purposes.

1. Any private citizen evading taxes on the score of graft must at least be prepared to answer such questions as these: How much of his tax burden results from graft? How much graft is there? Does it amount to two per cent

of our \$62 billion tax levy? Has any investigation suggested it is even one per cent?

If the amount of graft is relatively small, is he still justified in evading taxes on this score? If so, how much may he dodge?

Moreover, as we saw earlier, there are available channels for citizens to make effective protest and initiate remedy. The minority is always alert for justification to cry, "Throw the rascals out." And an administration wants to make good its promises to economize and to eliminate abuses. Besides, the overwhelming majority in both parties are genuinely concerned to give us good government.

#### WASTE EXAGGERATED

2. The present Republican Administration has clearly demonstrated that most of us have considerably over-estimated the amount of waste and incompetence in government. Remember the campaign promises that taxes would be cut by twenty per cent as the "fat" of the previous administration's wasteful ways was worked out? Yet, the new administration had to resort to some debatable cuts in order to make a showing of economy.

This remark should not be construed as a criticism of Mr. Eisenhower. It is offered as evidence that there is less waste than some moralists assume. It is also worth repeating just one principle from our general discussion: Is it reasonable to set up a standard for government that the world of business or education would not care to be measured by?

3. The third reason alleged to justify tax evasion was that taxes are levied for unreasonable purposes. Whatever be the purpose for which taxes are raised, few will question that the American people bear a heavy tax burden. Obviously the desirable public policy will—and should—be to leave as much money as possible

<sup>2</sup> The common good (and legislation to achieve it) requires by its nature continuous improvement and development. On this point, see Johannes Messner, *Social Ethics*, Herder, St. Louis, 1949, pp. 124-34.

in private pocketbooks. Moreover, there is no question that at any given moment we are being taxed for some purposes which intelligent persons can demonstrate will not in the long run promote the common welfare. Finally, it is true that some kinds of taxes have unfortunate results. All this we have already said, and the essential answer we have already seen. Whatever the defects, we must acknowledge, in view of the legislators' careful efforts, that our law is the best possible *under the circumstances*.

But there is also a question of fact to raise against the moralist who justifies tax evasion on this score. Again I can cite Mr. Eisenhower's experience. Supporters of the Republican party may still be as sure as they used to be that the Democratic Administration had been taxing us foolishly, or for purposes that were "globaloney," or that lead to socialism.

**B**UT totally new light has been cast on this assumption as the new administration has striven mightily—but unsuccessfully—to reduce the budget in any significant degree in any direction. Confronted with this judgment of an administration dedicated to tax reductions, how can any private individual easily assert that certain measures are so defective or pernicious as to justify his tax evasions?

This road leads to anarchy. A national magazine recently declared that the capital-gains tax is confiscation. A popular columnist decries foreign aid as "operation rathole." People in the East might argue that the Far West gets too much money for dams. Conservatives everywhere used to quote Mr. Eisenhower's claim that TVA is socialism. Some Catholics argue that they are unfairly taxed to support public schools,

even though they don't use them. And so it goes, on and on.

Which of these propositions justifies tax evasion? If any one, why not all?

Or consider a somewhat different problem. There are good arguments for and against the fairness or the effects of certain taxes. Take one recent debate. Many have declared that taxes on dividends should be cut in order to re-establish satisfactory incentives. But just as many authorities argued that incentives were adequate, at least in view of the revenues needed to build up strength at home and abroad to assure lasting peace.

Meanwhile, Senator Douglas and others were voicing the arguments of trade unions, New Dealers and others to the effect that tax reductions in lower income brackets would give the faltering economy a "shot-in-the-arm" through increased consumer spending. Again, equal authority was warning that such a move would be disastrous.

In view of this welter of opposing convictions, one can only ask where we would end up if each one takes it upon himself to decide whether the worth of certain budget items merits his support or leaves him free to evade some part of his taxes.

#### CONCLUSION

This article is only an attempt to present certain principles too little considered in discussions of the obligation to pay taxes. I recognize that even against the weight of my argument those who disagree may rest their freedom on the support of recognized authorities. But it cannot too emphatically be insisted that no theologian is a valid authority *unless he is talking about a situation identifiable as the equivalent of what we have seen exists here in the United States*.

# TRENDS

## ***Peasants Threaten Communism***

In the February, 1955, issue of *Harper's*, W. W. Rostow suggests that communist efforts to collectivize agriculture may, within ten years, mark the end of Marxism as a world threat. Efforts to coerce peasants into increased production have been consistently unsuccessful. Up to the present the Soviet Union has been able to get along despite actual declines in food products because Russia has always had a surplus. But China is in no such position, and any decline in food supplies could cause serious trouble, even in a country chronically afflicted with starvation. As the Indian program of agricultural improvement progresses (the five-year goals have been achieved in three years), the contrast between results of coerced and free agricultural production could easily woo other under-developed areas from interest in Marxism.

The experience in Yugoslavia confirms this idea. During the early post-war years that country led all Soviet satellites in progress toward total peasant collectivization. By 1951, however, the effort had been relaxed, and in 1954 individuals were permitted to withdraw from collectives. At the present time the number of collectives has fallen from a high of almost 7,000 to less than 1,000. And collectivization as a state policy has been abandoned.

Premier Malenkov's recent resignation may be another sign of this trend.

## ***New Lawyer's Magazine***

The law school of St. John's University, Brooklyn, has begun publication of *The Catholic Lawyer*. The magazine will publish information on legal subjects of particular interest to Catholic lawyers. The first issue contains an article on bingo, another on the legal concept of church, several reprints, including the code of

the comics magazine association and a summary of a number of decisions having religious import.

## ***Priests and Union Issues***

Rejection of the communist-dominated Farm Equipment union by workers of Rock Island, Illinois, is credited largely to priests who threw their weight against the union.

Now the editors of *Work* ask, "Should priests speak up in union elections?" For various positions have been taken on the general matter. Discussion of the topic has been growing.

The president of United Electrical Workers, Albert Fitzgerald, is said to have called the priests' anti-FE statements "foul injection of religion" into internal union affairs.

Some seem to hold that "priests should regularly give instruction to the laity on what they should do." They may expect blue-prints drawn up by the clergy for all activity.

A third position—which actually is that of Father William T. O'Connor, who was most influential in the Rock Island area—holds that "Priests should intervene only in exceptional circumstances, especially in a contest between two bona fide unions."

The *Work* editors stated that intervention by priests was needed because of "the absence of vigorous and influential leadership among the Catholic laity" in the Rock Island area.

A further attitude is that which would permit priests to intervene in exceptional circumstances, provided they do not use the pulpit.

Father O'Connor, professor of social science and philosophy at St. Ambrose in Davenport, Iowa, initiated a campaign in which nearly every pastor spoke at Mass on the gravity of the union election. For 22 years he has been a leader in social movements in the area, such as better housing, civil rights and good unionism.

## **Southern Schools and Responsibility**

"I am doing all in my power to help align Maryland behind segregation efforts. Please enlist me in your membership and send me all pertinent information." So went one early request to *Southern School News*, the official publication of the Southern Education Reporting Service, 1109 19th Ave., South, Nashville, Tenn.

But of a random 3,194 spontaneous requests for the monthly bulletin of sixteen five-column pages, at least 1,299 came from "just interested citizens" and over 64 per cent came from the South. The full mailing list of the *News* at the end of 1954 topped 25,000. The bulletin is distributed free to interested individuals and organizations on request.

Financed by a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education, itself set up as an independent agency by the Ford Foundation, the Service has all its bills paid through June 30, 1955 through a grant of almost \$100,000.

The group was organized by Southern educators and newspapermen, among them Virginius Dabney of the *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Thomas R. Waring of the *Charleston News & Courier* and C. A. McKnight of the *Charlotte News*, who has been named executive director. Their objective was stated last July 5, in a letter of application to the Fund for the Advancement of Education: "We are convinced that a major contribution can be made at this time to the advancement of education and to the general public interest by an impartial reporting service which provides accurate and unbiased information concerning the adjustments which various communities in the southern region make as a result of the Supreme Court's recent opinion."

## **Negro in Press Club**

By a vote of 377 to 281, a member referendum of the National Press Club, Washington, approved the decision of its board of governors to admit the first Negro member. The new member is Louis R. Lautier, of Atlanta, Ga., who represents the *Atlanta Daily World* and the

National Negro Press Association. His admission was a matter of violent controversy and led to the first referendum on an application for membership in the 47-year history of the club.

## **Citizens Against Apartheid**

When the racist Prime Minister J. G. Strydom succeeded Dr. Daniel Malan in the Union of South Africa, Archbishop Hurley of Durban denounced the continuing policy of segregation and inferiority for non-whites. "The state exceeds its authority and becomes tyrannical when it abolishes the rights of certain groups of individuals. The principle of *apartheid*, which establishes the permanent inferiority of certain classes, is an example of this."

The prelate called for the establishment in South Africa of numerous private voluntary associations which would serve as buffers between the state and the individual. As long as state racist policy continues, this would seem the only way of working for the dissolution of racial conflict and injustice.

## **Area Fights Depression**

Faced with serious unemployment and the disappearance of industries, the lower Mohawk valley area west of Albany, N. Y., has organized for its own rehabilitation. Mayors, town councils, chambers of commerce, trade unions, bankers, clergymen and state officials have united to attract new industry and achieve diversification.

Traditionally the towns of the area have concentrated on one industry, chiefly rug or glove manufacturing. As business declined and local factories became obsolete, operations were shut down. Unemployment, at the present time, stands between fifteen and twenty per cent. More than 100,000 persons are directly affected by the slump, and another 275,000 in fringe areas are more or less seriously involved.

Efforts to stimulate business activity in the region include surveys of labor and plant potential, construction of modern factories, tax concessions to industry and financial aid to companies planning a move into the Mohawk area.



## ***GAW for Railroads***

Six railroad unions, representing 350,000 shop workers, announced recently that guaranteed annual wages will be a main objective of negotiations throughout 1955. Railway shopmen thus join workers in steel, automobile manufacturing, electrical equipment, aluminum and other mass-production industries who have announced similar plans for the current year.

More detailed plans for formulating a feasible program and organizing a campaign to persuade railroads will be formulated at a mid-April meeting.

At about the same time unionized truck drivers in 22 Midwest and Southern states achieved a step toward a kind of partial guaranteed wage. Contracts signed late in January assured drivers of a full week's pay whenever they are called to work for any part of a week.

## ***Rail-Truck Council***

After years of feuding, railroads and truck lines in the huge area east of the Mississippi have organized a joint board to reconcile issues. In a statement announcing establishment of the "Council of Eastern Rail and Truck Common Carriers," the group said:

"Cooperation between what are, essentially, two arms of one great industry is vital to the American public." The council "will endeavor to cooperate and to assist the President and the Government in furthering the objectives of a sound, national transportation system." Every effort will be made "to try to reconcile any issues between the railroads and highway carriers which impede the best public service by either one."

## ***Workers Back Owners***

When a Detroit auto parts company's stock dropped sharply in value, employees cooperated to protect the owners, reports *The Wage Earner*.

After a heavy business loss, Motor Products Corporation stock fell from \$40 to \$17. The General Tire and Rubber Co., hoping to pick up the company, offered to

buy 300,000 shares at \$23. Under UAW leadership, the employees began buying the stock in an effort to retain the present owners and management.

More than 1,000 employees are saving \$10 weekly to purchase shares under the New York Stock Exchange's deferred-purchase plan.

## ***Capital Punishment Today***

Debate has been growing in Germany on the question of capital punishment. Present law in that country (Art. 102 of the Basic Law) provides "the death sentence shall be abolished."

Eighty-eight per cent of a weekly's readers favored the re-establishment of capital punishment, on the score that murders have "at least doubled" since its abolition. Yet statistics just released by the German ministry of justice show a steady decrease in the number of murders over the past few years.

By constitution, capital punishment is outlawed in Colombia, Ecuador, Italy, Nicaragua, Austria, Portugal, Switzerland and Uruguay. Other lands which have dropped it are Denmark (1930), Holland (1870), New Zealand (1941), Spain (1932), Turkey (1950). Of the American republics, seven more eliminated it from their penal codes between 1872-1929: Argentina, Brazil, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras, Peru and Venezuela.

Six states of the U. S. and Puerto Rico have also abolished the death sentence: Michigan, Minnesota, North Dakota, Rhode Island, Maine, Wisconsin.

## ***Odd Ends . . .***

Total expenditures for U. S. building set a new record for the eighth consecutive year in 1954. Of the \$37.2 billion total, \$11.5 billion represented public funds. Private non-farm housing accounted for \$12 billion of the sum.

Prospects of an increase in the federal minimum-wage level to 90c or \$1 hourly rate seem good, and more workers may be included.

There is a strong trend in Congress toward social legislation directly intended to benefit the family as a social unit.

# BOOKS

## THE SELF-MADE MAN IN AMERICA:

*The Myth of Rags to Riches.*—By Irvin G. Wyllie. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J., 1954, x, 210 pp. \$4.00.

"Adam," wrote Matthew H. Smith in *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine* for 1854, "was created and placed in the Garden of Eden for business purposes."

The relationship of money-making and the quasi-asceticism it purportedly involves to the Judaeo-Christian teaching concerning the purpose of life has been attracting attention for some time. The present work, an account of the origins and effects of what Americans have believed about the self-made man, grows out of the discussions initiated by Max Weber and continued by Troeltsch, Tawney and Fanfani (the last author, lately come into political prominence in Italy, is not cited in this book).

The widespread American belief that success was due inevitably to desperately hard work, which both attested and formed a strong character, and ill-success to laziness or some other moral defect is traceable, the author shows, to a synthesis of business aspirations, Protestant religion and journalism. It was not American writers of literary repute (with the notable exception of Benjamin Franklin) so much as Protestant ministers, such as Russell Conwell, with journalistic proclivities and journalists with moralistic proclivities who chiefly promoted the myth of the self-made man. This myth long dominated the American *Weltanschauung*, but it was never entirely uncontested by those Americans who noticed that there seemed to be many factors other than the self involved in success or failure, and that, if there was lots of room at the top, there was still more at the bottom. The Great Depression, together with the growing stability of American society and the resulting descent of wealth through families, gave the self-help postulate a blow from which it has never quite recovered.

The author (p. 56) takes some slight exception to Tawney's thesis that by the nineteenth century Protestantism no longer possessed standards independent of business to which business was expected to conform, objecting that this thesis might seem to hint that Protestantism lacked real interest in religious matters. This would seem to make Tawney imply more than he really intends, but Professor Wyllie does succeed in indicating, if not that Protestantism had standards independent of business practices, at least that success as success had, in this Protestant tradition, a definitely religious rather than a secular glow. The texts cited by the apostles of self-help are regularly from the Bible, and the explanation of the self-help doctrine in terms of inner qualities to the total neglect of environment (perish all thought of Darwin!) shows a typical stress on interiority and character recognizably religious and ascetical in origin, if at the same time curiously unaware of the significance of the Cross.

Professor Wyllie comments briefly (p. 57) on the way in which the Catholic church stood apart from this glorification of wealth. The reasons he gives seem true enough, but one might suggest another more profound reason to which his work actually points, namely, that the American Protestant groups represented here are not only not churches in the sense in which Catholicism is a church but have not even envisioned trying to be. This is not to say that they are not involved with religious matters, but that their involvement is of a different kind.

The present book tells its well-documented story effectively and furnishes an invaluable descriptive bibliography. It is not a profound study of the psychological pulsions back of the movements it traces, but is the necessary groundwork for such a study.

WALTER J. ONG, S.J.  
St. Louis University

**SIX UPON THE WORLD: Toward an American Culture for an Industrial Age.**  
—By Paul F. Douglass. Little, Brown, Boston, 1954, 443 pp. \$4.95.

"This book explores the problems related to the growth of an American culture adequate to meet the responsibilities of a heavily industrialized society in an age of advanced technology," are the words inscribed on the jacket. The lives, works and writings of six outstanding citizens are summarized in quest of a cultural pattern for today's America. The men chosen for study are Paul G. Hoffman, in the field of commerce and public service; William Z. Foster, a revolutionary socialist; Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., representing the modern corporation; Walter Reuther, the spokesman for organized labor; Francis Cardinal Spellman, speaking for the Roman Catholic Church; and James B. Conant, in the field of research and education.

The sketches are not merely biographical. They seek out the *leitmotif*, the fundamental *Credo*, of the men under review. The sketches are followed by a synthesis of the requirements for fulfillment of a technological society's promise. They are nine: 1. a continuous inflow of high-quality young men; 2. a mobile and nonstratified society which keeps open a roadway to the top for talented and ambitious youth; 3. a climate of competition which stimulates good men to rivalry to surpass the best performance of other good men; 4. a free and unmolested forum for the discovery and discussion of ideas; 5. a steadily increasing current of consumer spending; 6. the recognition of the fact that the human being is not a commodity to be bought and sold according to supply and demand in the market place; 7. acceptance of the inevitability of corporate bigness in economic life; 8. a freely trading international community, and 9. a literate and active citizenry possessed of civil courage.

Finally, the author summarizes the answers of "the six" to the following set of questions: What shall be the relation of man to God, of man to man, of man to the machine, and of man to the state?

The reviewer was somewhat disconcerted at the materialistic, secularist tone of

the men under review, with the exception of Cardinal Spellman. But, this is perhaps the cancer that develops in the body of a prosperous industrial society.

The sketches make good reading. That on Mr. Sloan gives a fine summary of the growth and development of General Motors.

EDMUND A. KURTH  
Loras College

**THE AMERICAN PEOPLE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.**—By Oscar Handlin. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1954, xiii, 244 pp. \$3.75.

This interpretive essay discusses the development of ethnic groups in American society during the past half-century. Earlier tendencies emphasized separateness of an antagonistic nature, while today Handlin finds a national unity through which individuals experience pride in their ethnic origins.

Always there is the problem of what constitutes real Americanism. The adaptation of the American church to this change might be treated more systematically. However, the analysis of Catholicism seems quite fair. Unfortunately, the role of American political processes in achieving social unity is neglected; nevertheless, this work remains a distinctive contribution to the study of American social history.

EDWARD R. O'CONNOR  
St. Louis, Missouri

**THE SUPREME COURT: Vehicle of Revealed Truth or Power Group, 1930-37.**  
—By Alpheus Thomas Mason, Boston University Press, 1953, 58 pp. \$2.50.

The author of this excellent study, widely known for his classic life of Justice Brandeis, here chronicles for us the story of the adamant resistance which the U. S. Supreme Court offered to every social reform before and after the great depression. Mr. Mason has covered the familiar NRA and AAA cases, but he has also turned up some material new even to those fully acquainted with this question.

These three lectures, the Boston University Gaspar Bacon series for 1952-53,



are appropriately named "Rehearsal," "Alignment" and "Showdown." They constitute a careful and incisive analysis of the forces behind Supreme Court decisions in the thirties.

Public opinion seems to suggest that the Supreme Court must be above all popular urges, however compelling, and decide cases on naked precedent and cold logic. This attitude, Mr. Mason demonstrates, has caused the greatest losses of prestige which the Court from time to time has suffered. The Court interprets a Constitution and not a statute; it must therefore be resilient and adaptable without, of course, denying any fundamental truth of the Constitution. Why the Court has failed to be adaptable on many occasions has been caused, in Mr. Mason's estimation, by the Justices' lack of training in the social sciences. As Justice Brandeis put it: "A lawyer who has not studied economics and sociology is very apt to become a public enemy."

ROBERT F. DRINAN, S.J.  
Florence, Italy

**THE GREAT ISSUES OF POLITICS.**—By Leslie Lipson. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1954, 431 pp. \$7.00.

In this book Professor Lipson offers a method of analysis which he considers applicable to every political society in every age. It has, he says, been of help to him, and he wishes to pass on the good tidings that the study of politics can be untangled if the fundamental and recurring issues of politics are understood.

In the introductory chapters he considers the nature of man, the conflict between individualism and what he calls "groupism" and the origins of the state and political authority. Here he is orthodox, with a nice, broad, humanitarian outlook. Man is a rational animal and there are references of a rather general nature to moral values and ethical judgments. He gives the back of his hand to those who maintain that politics is simply the conscious or sub-conscious struggle for power, and happily, avoids the jargon which Lasswell and his camp-followers employ to make the pages of many a book and journal so dreary and incomprehensible.

At the same time, Lipson is careful to avoid any suggestion that the source of political authority is beyond man himself. If this book were to serve as an introduction to political science, one would conclude that the only influence of Christianity on political thought was the formulation of the Divine Right theory.

As for his method, Lipson has grouped the "elements of the state: members, functions, institutions, rules, governing authority, revenue and ideas" around what he calls "The Great Issues of Politics." These are five in number: The choice between freedom and dictatorship, between dispersion of powers and their unification, and between a multitude of states or a Universal State. Since there are two "great alternatives" for each issue, he presents two chapters apiece thereunder.

Aside from the topical arrangement, a good deal of what Lipson says can be found in the writings of earlier political scientists of the same humanitarian persuasion. Nevertheless, it is encouraging to find such a book emerging in the face of Peter Odegard's recent joyful pronouncement that this type of political commentary was moribund, and we were now being delivered over to the survey men, the pollsters and the statisticians.

This reviewer would recommend Lipson's book only for supplemental reading for a course in political science. There are certain defects in the basic assumptions on authority and the state, the historical interpretations are not entirely satisfactory, and the price of the book, \$7, is simply outlandish.

MARTIN J. CLANCY  
Marquette University

**THE DOCTRINE OF RESPONSIBLE PARTY GOVERNMENT: Its Origins and Present State.**—By Austin Ranney. University of Illinois Press, Urbana, 1954, 176 pp. Paper, \$3.00; cloth, \$4.00.

In the present volume of the Illinois Studies in Social Sciences, the author insists that his colleagues in political science could well study certain writers of the turn of the century. In separate chapters he outlines the teaching of six of them (Woodrow Wilson, A. Lawrence Lowell,

Henry Jones Ford, Frank J. Goodnow, M. I. Ostrogorski and Herbert Croly) on the nature of democracy, the nature of parties and their functions.

From this study he concludes that they discussed responsible party government "in some respects more thoroughly and satisfactorily than any of the writers of our present time." In order to make progress now, we should settle first of all the fundamental issues which kept these former authors from agreement. Most important of these issues is what is democracy. Is it merely a government by majority-rule or rather majority-government for a democratic way of life?

THOMAS R. ROYCE, S.J.  
Alma College

**PERPETUAL WAR FOR PERPETUAL PEACE.**—Edited by Harry E. Barnes. Caxton Printers, Caldwell, Idaho, 1954, xi, 679 pp. \$6.00.

This arresting volume is the latest endeavour of the Beardian devotees to brand the Roosevelt era. As an antidote to Barnes' basic assumption ("for the sad state of the world today, the entry of the United States into two world wars has played a larger role than any other single factor") the reader might profit from Professor Brinton's *The Temper of Western Europe*.

Unfortunately where a moderate revisionism might be in good taste, Barnes degenerates to sensationalism; thus we have competent critics called "hatchetmen," (p. 27) their evaluations, "obscene smears," (p. 26) orthodox historians labeled "court historians." (pp. 54-55)

Professor Lundberg glibly appeals for a return to traditional American foreign policy, a shell as he conceives it, to shelter us from internationalism. A casual check through the pages of Hansard and the correspondence of Monroe, Jackson and John Q. Adams might open Mr. Lundberg's eyes to a trend in foreign policy of which he is totally unaware. Lundberg concedes, "the Monroe Doctrine was in no sense 'isolationist'"; (p. 560) to this reviewer, it was the seed of our contemporary internationalism.

There are isolated chapters of this book, notably those of Tansill, Neumann,

Greaves, which represent balanced scholarship. As a whole, however, it fails in its delineation of the motives of Roosevelt's foreign policies: too much conjecture based on preconceived assumption does not create history.

JOHN CARROLL, S.J.  
Weston College

**THE MEANING OF NATIONALISM.**—By Louis L. Snyder. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J., 1954, xv, 208 pp. \$4.50.

The Committee on Historiography of the Social Science Research Council reported in 1954 that the most significant development in history writing in the last decade is the increased use of the "multidisciplinary approach." Professor Snyder's new study on nationalism is one of the best recent studies consciously using this approach. The author, who is an historian by profession, culls the statements about nation, nationality, nationalism, national soul and national character from the writings of anthropologists, sociologists, political scientists, historians, psychologists and psychoanalysts. He attempts, by this inductive method, to discover the common understanding of these terms among the various disciplines and to find what additional light each throws on the subject.

This is a good study. It is the best single work in English—or any other language, to this reviewer's knowledge—directed to the single question of what is meant by "nationalism." Snyder uses the work of both Carlton J. H. Hayes and Hans Kohn, the two outstanding authorities on nationalism in this country. As a good reporter, he shows the reader the distinctions in various kinds of nationalism made by Hayes, Luigi Sturzo and others. He reports the conclusions of psychologists and psychiatrists, as well as sociologists and historians, on the etiology of nationalism. His book is therefore a necessary introduction to the subject of nationalism for anyone who intends to do serious work in the field.

We cannot refrain from adding a postscript to this review. Good historians have long been using the "multidisciplinary approach" to the past. They have used in-

formation furnished by literary specialists, philosophers, psychologists and anyone who can throw light on the past. Snyder's study is different because of the self-conscious way he utilizes the works of other disciplines. This is only to say that historians of days gone by were not necessarily narrow specialists who ignored work in other fields. Increasing specialization in the various social sciences, however, seems to make a conscious multidisciplinary approach necessary in the future. It is to Snyder's credit that he uses this methodology well.

THOMAS P. NEILL  
St. Louis University

#### MANPOWER IN THE UNITED STATES.

—By William Haber, Frederick Harbison, Lawrence R. Klein and Gladys Palmer. Harper, New York, 1954, xi, 225 pp. \$3.00.

The authors selected by the editorial board consider manpower from these aspects: utilization and motivation of workers, changing dimensions of the work force, mobilization of manpower. A quick survey of each aspect is supplemented by pertinent facts and footnotes for more detailed study.

It is manifestly unfair but mandatory to single out certain essays to indicate contents of the book. "The Effect of Social Security on Manpower Resources" supports the view that perhaps we have been too fearful of bad effects of such security with respect to over-all efficiency. "The Occupational and Industrial Distribution of Employment, 1910-50," shows more rapid gains in business, repair services, administration, financial and professional services than in manufacturing and trade. There were marked declines in extractive industries, personal services and transportation. "These losses were particularly important for men, since the employment of women in all sectors of the economy except the extractive and personal services gained relative to the population." "Manpower Mobilization and Economic Controls" assumes a mobilization policy based upon incentive rather than compulsion. It does not rule out conscription of labor but points out, "if

the government introduces it prematurely it may weaken rather than strengthen our defense."

We would agree with the authors in the Introduction when they say: "It [the work] is a manual of facts for the enlightenment and guidance of those who desire to address themselves to practical measures."

HARRY B. KIES  
Rockhurst College Institute of  
Social Order

**A KEY TO MODERN ECONOMICS.**—By David McCord Wright. Macmillan, New York, 1954, 510 pp. \$4.75.

SOCIAL ORDER readers will welcome this work which develops many thoughts evoked in Wright's June, 1954, article.

The book breaks with textbook tradition by organizing economic principles around the theme "growth and disturbance are inseparably linked." The author justifies this approach thus:

Until recently standard economics textbooks talked almost entirely about "choices." A fixed income was assumed, and the student studied at length how one should spend money so as to get the most "satisfaction" from it. . . , and infinite pains were taken over the "best" way of dividing it up. . . . If no attention is paid to growth, men may find themselves cutting each other to pieces over the division of amounts which a few years of growth would make comparatively tiny." (p.4)

General requirements for economic growth, American economic organization, and national income analysis constitute the first part of the book. National income is analyzed to illustrate "reasons for saving and pitfalls which savings and growth alike entail," (p.4) and to familiarize the student with the meaning and significance for macro-analysis of income figures. The disturbances analyzed are those arising from changes in the value of money, business cycles, excessive market power, obstructionist union policies, restrictions in international trade and plain growing pains. The purpose and function of money and the principles of bank credit expansion lead up to a penetrating analysis of business cycles. Here the author explodes

the theory that economic maturity is inevitable.

The author shows why business produces what it does and at what prices but the micro-analysis is brief, and the economic models which ordinarily accompany it are few, lest the non-mathematical student become lost in a maze of symbols and graphs.

Four chapters on distribution of wealth and income and stationary vs. dynamic economy, the book's most penetrating section, reflect the author's *Capitalism and Democracy and Progress*. In this section the student is given the analytical tools to probe and understand capitalism and communism.

"Zones of Market Power—Business" treats competition, its types and limitations, its social waste and its relation to bigness. In "Zones of Market Power—Labor" the author although recognizing the importance of collective bargaining shows how unions can bring about a drift toward stagnation and can foster mediocrity.

Through its readability and provocative nature this book should hold the interest of the student. However, the chapters on competition and international trade assume a background which most students lack, and the chapters on labor may give the beginner too unfavorable an impression of labor unions. For a six hour course in Principles the book should be supplemented by special readings, explanations of basic principles and terms and problems to give the student practice in economic analysis. Its outstanding merit as a text is gained through its cohesion and unity. Its clarification of the problems of growth and disturbance makes a contribution to economics and policy-making in government and business.

HELEN C. POTTER  
Loyola University, Chicago

**CONSUMER BEHAVIOR.**—By Committee for Research on Consumer Attitudes and Behavior. New York University Press, New York, 1954, viii, 128 pp. \$4.00.

This publication gives the papers delivered at the second annual meeting of the Committee for Research on Consumer Attitudes and Behavior at the University of Michigan in September, 1953. There is

a preface by Lincoln H. Clark, professor of marketing at New York University, the editor, and several appendices, including two of comments made by participants at the meeting.

The papers cover a wide range of topics, e.g., "The Consumer in the New Suburbia" by William H. Whyte, Jr.; "The Autonomy of the Consumer" (with prophecies as to influence on future buying) by Nelson N. Foote; and "The Choices Consumers Make: A Law of Categorical Judgment" (for rating and sorting procedures) by Warren S. Torgerson. The interests represented include some of those of the sociologist, the psychologist, the family relations specialist, the marketing specialist and the economist. The preface states that as the problem of consumer behavior cuts across various disciplines, the members of the Committee are working together to develop an integrated interdisciplinary approach.

The effort represented by this publication is one of a number of current efforts through the symposia of books and conferences to bring about a greater understanding of basic issues where several social sciences are involved. Consumption is in special need of such understanding.

One of the limitations of such symposia is that the specialists may be so specialized that people outside the specialty cannot understand them. The people brought together are often ignorant of the principles by which the speakers or discussants reach their conclusions, and so are unable to evaluate the conclusions reached. Neither do they know what other work has been done in the fields under discussion, nor what could be done. They may be greatly impressed by something which is superficial, or, in their ignorance, they may fail to recognize a contribution which is of major significance.

The escape from this confusion is as difficult as it is essential if any outstanding progress is to be made toward an integrated interdisciplinary approach. One step would be to center a conference about a limited and clearly defined theme cutting across several disciplines, with a small number of contributors or participants who would each read all the papers in advance of their formal presentation.

They could then more easily raise questions about what was difficult to understand and what other work in the same area had been done. A chairman would be required who would be skilled in drawing out and in clarifying difficulties in understanding and in creating a frame of reference in which each part would be seen in its bearing on the rest. The lack, and the cost, of such a unifying procedure has led some critics to say that the very idea of an integrated interdisciplinary approach is fantastic.

For those who believe that an interdisciplinary approach is possible, it is at least a good sign that representatives of different disciplines and different methods are getting together. Such contacts and the resulting publications show up the weaknesses of their understanding and emphasize, as nothing else could do, the need of interdisciplinary sympathy and the development of a technique for interdisciplinary communication.

ELIZABETH E. HOYT  
Iowa State College

**MAN, MOTIVES, AND MONEY: *Psychological Frontiers of Economics*. By Albert Lauterbach. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., 1954, xiv, 366 pp. \$5.00.**

The desert frontier between psychology and economics has exercised a certain fascination over active minds in both disciplines, and Dr. Lauterbach is one of the latest to venture into this wild country. His work is divided into four long chapters, each of which is almost a separate essay in itself, without much interrelation. The first, "Motivation of Business Activity," develops the familiar theme that business men are men and therefore are motivated by a great complexity of urges toward power, self expression, vengeance and so on, all of which are most inadequately summed up in the economist's principle of the maximization of profits. The second chapter, "How is Business Done," brings together some materials on the "non-economic" environment of businesses, surrounded as they are like other social institutions by pressures from society, which are again most inadequately expressed by the economists' abstraction of the market.

The third chapter, "Socioeconomic Instability and Personal Insecurity," makes an attempt to relate the unstable motivations in economic life to childhood insecurities resulting partly in their turn from instabilities in the economic system. The fourth chapter, "Economic Reform and the Human Mind" deals with such matters as the distinction between the more constructive reformist attitude and the destructive attitude of revolt, and draws together some material on the relation between early experiences, personality, and ideology.

If a single theme can be found to tie these chapters together it is perhaps the notion that constructive reform in economic life is frequently blocked both on the right and the left by attitudes which derive from deep-seated psychological traumata. There is a chapter of summary and conclusions, and a curiously heterogeneous series of appendices summarizing the results of various empirical studies which have been made in the general area of economic psychology. There is an extensive bibliography, which in some ways is the most useful part of the book. The book is addressed mainly, I suspect, to economists, and it will be useful to them in indicating how far they wish to pursue the elusive rabbit of truth into the thicket of the psychological literature.

This reviewer's appraisal of Dr. Lauterbach's painstaking inquiry is unfortunately prejudiced by the view that the open and productive frontiers between psychology and economics lie in a very different part of the field from the one which this work explores. Neither motivation nor personality theory, which are Dr. Lauterbach's main interests, seem to me the most pertinent to economics, in spite of their superficial appeal. This is partly because of the state of these parts of psychology, which seems to me to be much worse than that of economics, and there is an all-too-familiar ending to the old story of the blind leading the blind. By the nature of its abstraction, however, as an "astronomy of commodities," economics is not much interested in man in *his* complexity, but in commodities in *their* complexity: it is a humble mechanics of trade, not a theory of Man. Consequently those mechanical



aspects of psychology-learning theory, communication theory, cybernetic systems, information theory, and so on, seem to me to be closest to the field of economics and much more likely to interact fruitfully. These large areas of psychology and related disciplines are not touched in this work. I am also convinced that the economist has much more to learn, at the present juncture, from the sociologist than from the psychologist.

However, perhaps all I am saying is that this is not a book that I would have written, and I must give Dr. Lauterbach at least the privilege of writing his own book!

KENNETH E. BOULDING  
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**FAIR COMPETITION: The Law and Economics of Antitrust Policy.**—By Joel B. Dirlam and Alfred E. Kahn. Cornell University Press, Ithaca, N. Y., xi, 307 pp. \$4.50.

**MONOPOLY AND COMPETITION AND THEIR REGULATION: Papers and Proceedings of a Conference held by the International Economic Association.**—Edward H. Chamberlin, ed. St. Martin's Press, New York, 1954, xvi, 548 pp. \$7.50.

**THE REGULATION OF BUSINESSMEN: Social Conditions of Government Economic Control.**—By Robert E. Lane. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1954, xiii, 144 pp. \$3.75.

These are three interesting books on closely related subjects. The first two books deal with the broad subject of monopoly and competition. The last is a psychological essay on the friction that accompanies government regulation of business.

The authors of *Fair Competition* were preoccupied with the growing trend toward a new emphasis (based on a broader interpretation of "the rule of reason") in American antitrust thinking and policies in the direction of modern theories of "workable competition." Their book attempts to show that this trend is without

firm foundation. In the opinion of the authors, this recent tendency, should it prevail, would result in entrusting anti-monopoly legislation "to the vagaries of shifts in economic theorizing—which at one moment strongly supports atomistic competition, at another extols the virtues of powerful, foundation-supporting corporations."

The book is a strong restatement of the orthodox view that antitrust laws should be enforced against collusive and exclusive business practices, without assessment of the ultimate economic effects of such practices. If one doubts the validity of economic theories that admit not only efficiency and stability effects of business concentration but also point out new aspects of effective competition, and if, in addition, one favors "small business" and classical mass-competition as values in themselves, the traditional interpretation of the antitrust laws is the one to defend.

A close second look at the entire problem of monopoly and competition was taken by a selected group of economists meeting at Talloires in the French Alps in the summer of 1951. The conferees contributed two sets of excellent papers, one group describing and assessing monopolistic and competitive elements in individual Western economies, the other dealing with various aspects of theory. The conference itself was spent in discussion. These papers and discussion form the content of the volume edited by Professor Chamberlin.

The published document is not only one of the richest single sources on the monopoly question, but also represents a unique testimony to the deep division of minds on this complex subject. In a general way American experts, reflecting conditions of a vast national market and over fifty years of systematic anti-monopoly legislation, were more optimistic than their European colleagues who drew upon the experience of small national economies mostly without antitrust-laws tradition.

While the conference did not so much as mention European integration, it did establish, by implication, a powerful argument in its favor. To have a dynamic, "workable competition" in a structural



setting of relatively few large production units, the existence of a large single market is the *conditio sine qua non*. In a small national market the optimum size firm in almost any significant industrial line, if it can be reached at all, is bound to become a monopoly without competition or fear of its appearance. And that is why in a fragmented western Europe neither the American solution of the monopoly problem nor any other based on a balanced combination of freedom, efficiency and equity is available. The result is much nationalization, a low average standard of living and a precarious political stability.

CYRIL A. ZEBOT  
Duquesne University

**POST KEYNESIAN ECONOMICS.**—Edited by Kenneth K. Kurihara. Rutgers University Press, New Brunswick, N. J., 1954, xviii, 442 pp. \$8.50.

This work, dedicated to the memory of Lord Keynes, is a collection of fifteen essays, each of which represents an independent contribution and some of which present rather formidable analyses. No apparent attempt has been made to coordinate the essays other than to group them into three categories, each containing five papers: Part I, Monetary Theory and Policy; Part II, Economic Fluctuations and Growth; Part III, Aggregative Economics and Testing. In the allotted space this reviewer can do no more than describe in the briefest fashion the contents of the three papers which appealed most to him.

Don Patinkin ("Keynesian Economics and the Quantity Theory") shows that, given only the absence of "money illusion," a once-and-for-all increase in the supply of money "must ultimately bring about a proportionate increase in prices and leave the rate of interest unaffected." The contention is that Keynes' arguments (*The General Theory*, pp. 208-09, 292-306) against the validity of the quantity theory are incorrect.

M. Bronfenbrenner elucidates "Some Neglected Implications of Secular Inflation" in a provocative essay notable for its verbal, co-disciplinary approach. He maintains that the current bias toward in-

flation is largely the result of "the political necessity of maintaining high employment at whatever cost" and the "pressures" stemming from what Boulding has called the "organizational revolution." But, unlike Schumpeter, he does not foresee a "march into socialism," contending that the 20th century economy can continue to progress even on a "high-wage, low-profit" basis.

A. Murad resurrects the mature-economy thesis in his stimulating essay on "Net Investment and Industrial Progress." He contends, however, that maturity must ultimately be explained on grounds of a labor shortage, not a chronic deficiency in aggregate demand. Maturity is reached when the rate of net investment falls to zero, and the attempt is made to demonstrate that this must eventually be the case. Paradoxically, he goes on to argue that capital accumulation need not cease if there is no net investment; and even if it should, industrial progress need not vanish. Needless to say, Murad's conclusions are diametrically opposed to those of traditional economics.

N. JAMES SIMLER  
College of St. Thomas

**PROPERTY, PROFITS, AND PEOPLE.**—By Thurman Andrew. Progress Press, Washington, D. C., 1954, 242 pp. \$3.75.

In a style faintly reminiscent of Henry Carey, Mr. Andrew discusses property, profits and people. Basic to his discussion are the assumptions that property is the creator of classes (the haves and the have nots), that profit is extortion and that labor still suffers grave economic injustice.

Had the author at any place asked: "What is property?" he would undoubtedly have answered with Proudhon: "Theft!" "Remember," he writes, "the first property was taken by force. In that sense, the subsequent owners are in receipt of stolen property." (p. 12) As the profit system rests on the foundation of property ownership, there is no real justification for profits in the economic world. Anyone who has grappled with the Marxian concept of surplus value in the original will welcome this simplified version: "... under the profit system, labor is hired only

when it is expected to increase the financial holding of the employer. It is expected to produce more than it is paid or allowed to consume. Regardless of the productivity of capital, labor is hired for the purpose of making a profit on it." (p. 24)

Although the book contains no systematic exposition of Marxism, the most fundamental concepts turn up at intervals: labor's right to the whole product (p. 44), the law of capitalistic accumulation (pp. 94ff.), the problem of unemployment as the result of capitalistic greed (pp. 114ff.).

In the first half, largely critical, Mr. Andrew has many hard things to say about the capitalistic system. His observations, however, apply chiefly to the 1930's, whence many of his examples come. In the latter half of the book, he explains the "use-owner" system, a modified form of socialism designed to remedy all present difficulties in the economic world. The discussion is marked by a certain originality of thought.

*Property, Profits, and People* is an earnest book, but its plan of reform will probably never find an effective expression.

MOTHER JANET KIMBALL, R.S.C.J.  
Duchesne College, Omaha

**INDUSTRIAL PENSIONS.**—By Charles L. Dearing. Brookings Institute, Washington, 1954, x, 310 pp. \$3.75.

Private old age pension systems embracing large sections of the country's industrial wage earners have enjoyed a mushroom growth in the years since World War II. A shortcoming of recent plans has been that they have been hammered out amidst the conflict and tensions of collective bargaining. There is need, certainly, for an objective analysis of their actuarial soundness and an evaluation of long-run costs and benefits.

*Industrial Pensions*, a very thorough work, attempts such an analysis. It is a good book, worthy of the study of any who would form an adequate judgment of contemporary pension systems. Yet the book might best be described as an excellent and scholarly brief filed in opposition to the development of industrial pension systems.

The author's analysis faults the majority of present pension plans on a number of counts: they tend to remove a significant volume of current income from productive use, and despite present claims, they do not provide effective coverage for workers except at the cost of severely limiting the mobility of labor.

Mr. Dearing shows a commendable, though conventional concern for the rights of the individual workers and manifests a sympathetic understanding for the problems facing management. But he seems needlessly critical of the efforts of the unions, the CIO group in particular, in developing contemporary pension plans. The unions, after all, have shown far more concern for securing a measure of security for over-age workers than has the majority of management and management spokesmen.

D. P. MULVEY, S.J.  
Woodstock College

**THE GROWTH OF INTEGRATED OIL COMPANIES.**—By John G. McLean and Robert W. Haigh. Graduate School of Business Administration, Harvard University Press, Boston, 1954, xxiv, 728 pp., with 206 exhibits and 23 appendix tables. \$12.00.

The main purpose of this study was to find out what prompted integration in the oil industry. While the presentation of research is competent and readable, it has no new generalizations on this old problem. The authors rely heavily on historical accounts and modern detailed examples to show that the production of oil products is a sprawling, costly, multi-stage operation that demands tight but flexible coordination between the various stages of production and marketing. Since independent ownership of one or two stages operates either under highly restricted conditions or under serious economic uncertainties, the industry naturally tends toward integration. The integrated companies have bigger and better economic "niches" than the non-integrated ones.

The authors overdo their statistical work to emphasize that profit opportunities varied over time at different levels of industry and that integration was con-

sequently followed by profit stabilization. By their own admission (pp. 116, 506, 673), the executives rarely gave profit stabilization as a motive for integration. Profit stability is not an important *propter hoc* factor in integration, but merely a *post hoc* generalization that, to some degree, is applicable to practically all types of integration. Statistically, the gross margin series and the net profit data at different levels of industry are of a very dubious character, as the authors themselves realize (pp. 137, 502-3).

Unreliable data are used to prove an unimportant point.

R. C. JANCAUSKAS, S.J.  
Washington, D. C.

**ARROW IN THE BLUE.**—By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan, New York, 1952, viii, 353 pp. \$5.00.

**THE INVISIBLE WRITING.**—By Arthur Koestler. Macmillan, New York, 1954, 431 pp. \$5.00.

Arthur Koestler is one of the twentieth-century intellectual proletariat's most vocal spokesmen. Born in Budapest in 1905, he quickly severed cultural and religious bonds with his Jewish ancestors and national ties with Hungary. These two autobiographical volumes carry the story of his career (and the word can be used literally) through childhood and adolescence, the beginnings of a university program in Vienna, a romantic attempt to help build a Zionist world in Palestine, the first successful steps in journalism in Paris, several years with the Ullstein group of papers and the central fact of Koestler's external chronicle, his nine years as a communist.

Fantastic as his journeyings and adventures in the visible world have been, they are of less interest than his interior Odyssey. Koestler described his autobiography as "the typical case-history of a member of the Central-European educated middle-classes, born in the first years of our century." By and large that is true. Shorn of individualizing details, it is the typical case-history of rootless intellectuals everywhere throughout the West today. But the fault is not entirely theirs or their age's.

The roots of their problem (if the metaphor may be changed) lie in the eighteenth century, which left man alone with his reason; its branches are in the nineteenth, which enslaved the master, reason, to his servants, the senses. Those whose case-history Koestler has written are the flowers of this evil tree.

There are inevitable heartache and anguish in Koestler's account, from the first tormented experiences in childhood to his Freudian shame at the astonishing experiences (for which "mystical" is the best term) during his imprisonment in Malaga. And the Odyssey (like the autobiography) is far from completed. But the story, so far as it has been told, reconfirms for the hundredth time the wisdom of Lubac's comment on Dostoevski:

"He proposes no system. He gives no solution to the terrible problems which the ordering of social life [and of personal life] poses for our century. This is, if you wish, a defect. But we must be able to recognize the significance of even that fact. It is not true, as [Dostoevski] seems occasionally to say, that man cannot organize the earth without God. What is true is that without God he can, in the last analysis, only organize it against himself."

It would be unfair to Arthur Koestler not to say that his skill as a psychographer is as great as his ability as a journalist, that he is always disarmingly candid and in *The Invisible Writing* increasingly honest. Passages in this work, except for their painful self-consciousness, are comparable with Simone Weil.

**UNDERSTANDING THE JAPANESE MIND.**—By James Clark Moloney, M.D. Philosophical Library, New York, 1954, xviii, 252 pp. \$3.50.

Doctor Moloney, a Freudian psychoanalyst, quotes Japanese psychoanalytical writings to show that Western psychoanalysis in Japan, after four decades of ups and downs, is faring badly because Japanese analysts adapt rather than integrate Freudian terminology and methodology. He predicts that because of the restrictions placed on Japanese behavior by age-old traditions, the Japanese psychoanalyst will

continue to subordinate the individual's worth to that of the national entity.

As an attempt to interpret Japanese behavior the book is a failure. The author painstakingly quotes numerous Japanese sources, but foists on them a Freudian interpretation. (He insinuates the Japanese hate the repression felt under their social customs. He fails even to mention one cardinal idea of Japanese national morality, *makoto*, the willing acceptance of culture-bound restrictions—all *sincerely*, proudly, no matter what the cost to oneself, ultimately for the honor and glory of Japan.) Doctor Moloney's analysis of the Japanese personality will not be accepted by others who have tried to understand the Japanese mind.

JOHN E. BLEWETT, S.J.  
Münster, Germany.

**GREECE: A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SURVEY, 1939-1953.**—By Bickham Sweet-Escott. Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, 1954, 207 pp. \$4.00.

This is a factual, well-documented account of modern Greece's role played in World War II, and the post-war period. It is of special interest to students of modern political history, and to those phil-Hellenes, who, like the present reviewer, having visited Greece in recent times, would like more detailed information on conditions there.

The author gives a good general background of the land, people, complicated political parties, strategic importance in Western defense and traditionally delicate economic position due to its constant need of essential imports.

The first part of the book deals with pre-war politics and the disputed question of the monarchy, the unsuccessful Italian invasion of 1940, the successful interference of Germany, resistance movements within Greece, the liberation and the subsequent civil war over the disarmament of the guerrilla forces, its final favorable settlement and present-day readjustment.

The author undertakes to justify British policy in Greece, which was, at the time, severely criticized by both leftist and

rightist leaders, by showing how completely the communist party of Greece (K.K.E.) got control of the resistance movement (E.A.M./E.L.A.S.) and worked to bring Greece behind the Iron Curtain. His thesis, "that the sole object of British policy was not to re-establish King George on the throne, but to prevent the calculated effort of the K.K.E. to destroy the state," is a reasonable one in view of the knowledge we now have of communist partisan movements, and in the light of actual happenings in countries like Yugoslavia.

The section on economy treats of post-war inflation, the high costs of living and the low living standard, the wartime destruction of Greece's economy by the Germans and the guerilla warfare and the attempts of the British and American missions and the Marshall Aid Plan to right these conditions of omnipresent poverty in which most of the peasant families live only just above the subsistence level. For them "life is brightened only by the sun, the sea, and the incomparable beauty of the countryside."

ROBERT F. HEALEY, S.J.  
Weston College

**SÖREN KIERKEGAARD.**—By Johannes Hohlenberg. Pantheon Books, New York, 1954, x, 321 pp. \$5.00.

For anyone who is interested primarily in the life of Kierkegaard, this book is the best companion in English. Less weighty than Walter Lowrie's pioneer work, it nevertheless provides a reliable and well-balanced description of Kierkegaard's personality and his actions. The author is thoroughly at home with the source materials and with the general history of Denmark. Especially valuable, although quite short, is the introductory chapter on the social and cultural conditions in the "old Copenhagen" of the eighteen-thirties and -forties, when Kierkegaard frequented its schools, streets and churches.

This was the period just prior to the emergence of Darwin and Marx, extreme nationalism and the total mechanization of society. Yet these new tendencies were present in germ in Kierkegaard's world, and he wrote a good deal of anticipatory

criticism about them. Hohlenberg is better at sketching Kierkegaard's critique of these forces than at stating his more positive views. Perhaps this is in accord with Kierkegaard's own self-characterization as a thoroughly polemical person. He flourished best in an atmosphere of combat with the world and inner struggle with himself. The present author has given a lively analysis of both the external and the internal warfare, which reached out to Kierkegaard's relations with his family and friends, the reigning Hegelian philosophy, the press and the Church.

In order to make Kierkegaard's life more relevant for our time, Hohlenberg restates its fundamental *either/or*. "It is a choice between the individual and collectivity, between the one and the many, between freedom and thralldom, between Christ and Anti-Christ." On the side of collectivism, however, Hohlenberg indiscriminately includes every social institution. This is not precisely Kierkegaard's own position. He did despair of those presently existing institutions with which he was acquainted, but he did not condemn the social side of man's nature as such. He simply did not know how to reconcile personal values and social structures within the temporal order. Kierkegaard's appeal to the standard of eternity is not only an expression of supernatural faith but also a desperate confession of the insufficiency of his own approach to human existence. At least, he recognized that there might be a further reach of vision which his principles could not yield.

JAMES COLLINS

St. Louis University

**FAITH AND FREEDOM.**—By Barbara Ward. Norton, New York, 1954, 308 pp. \$3.75.

Freedom, more than faith, is the main theme of this new book by the well-known British author whose suggestions for a close political and economic association of the Western nations have recently received much attention. While the *West at Bay* in which they were contained was close enough to Miss Ward's own profession as an economist, the aim of the present volume is a much broader one. Indeed, the main questions which the author pro-

poses to answer, such as "Is there some place left in the physical universe for the creative intervention of man?" can hardly be expected to be answered in this volume in any more definite way than it has already been done by more competent scholars. It remains, therefore, to study *Faith and Freedom* as a personal document rather than as a work of learning. It has an undoubted documentary value, inasmuch as it reveals, above all, some of the generally accepted and yet not quite correct concepts of our generations.

Thus the concept of freedom is identified, by Miss Ward, with a notion which emerged only slowly through the long centuries of human development. While it is true that the natural law can be attained only by a progressive, critical application of the intellect, and that the law of God had to be revealed to us, it is by no means evident whether the true meaning of freedom—an unreserved assent to God's truth and a possibility to pursue it—is or is not more generally known today than it had been a few centuries ago. Certainly it is much less clear to, let us say, Bertrand Russell than it was to Thomas Aquinas or to Socrates.

Again, throughout the book, the cause of freedom is practically identified with that of the Western world. In that, of course, Miss Ward is not alone; in many an American Catholic college one prefers to speak of the Western civilization instead of a Christian one. Perhaps, unwittingly—nowhere does she show her awareness of having done so—Miss Ward has followed the example of Augustine Aurelius and of his disciple, the historian Orosius, who also believed in an ultimate victory of the ancient Roman Empire over the invading barbarians. But in that, St. Augustine was mistaken. Not the emperors as protectors of the Church, but only the Church as a body persecuted by the barbarians was the one to survive the catastrophe.

The present reviewer shares Miss Ward's hope that the outward achievements of the Church in the West will not be destroyed and that he will be spared the sad spectacle which he has already once witnessed behind the Curtain. Nevertheless, he has a strong suspicion that



there are many more saints behind that Curtain than there are in this comfortable Western world. Because of that and also some other reasons he does not think it quite safe to concentrate too much on the outward achievements of the Church in the West. While the survival of the West is merely a hope, that of the Church itself—not of its achievements—is a certainty.

BOHDAN CHUDOBA  
Iona College, New Rochelle, N. Y.

**THE LAST THINGS.**—By Romano Guardini. Pantheon Books, New York, 1954, 118 pp. \$2.75.

**THE END OF TIME.**—By Josef Pieper. Pantheon Books, New York, 1954, 157 pp. \$2.75.

Despite the similarity of title these two books have little in common. Guardini offers the reader a series of short meditations on death, purification after death, resurrection, judgment and eternity. These meditations put Catholic teaching on the last things into a form easily understood by the layman. Their chief value is their clarifying and systematizing the knowledge of these things that the average Catholic already possesses. The only item this reviewer thinks many Catholics do not understand at least in a general way is the resurrection of the whole man rather than just the soul. Guardini's treatment of the resurrection of the body and his handling of the mystery of the individual's union with God in eternity are especially good.

Pieper's work is given the sub-title "A Meditation on the Philosophy of History." It deals with three related subjects: 1. a discussion of the complementary functions of theology and philosophy in investigating the nature and the end of history, 2. an investigation into the "end of history," 3. a discussion of the reign of Anti-Christ. The author's stand is stated in the last paragraph: "Without a return to revealed truth it is impossible not only to philosophize about history, but even to live in the area of real history as a spiritual being: that is to say, as a being who looks with open eyes upon what really happens in the real world, omitting nothing and glossing over nothing, but also abandoning

and retracting nothing of that upon which man, by his very nature, cannot cease to set his hopes." No attempt is made here to set forth the outline of a Christian philosophy of history, but the author's method of handling the items he studies is a model for additional study of this subject in the years to come. Pieper avoids the easy conclusion that there can be no philosophizing about history, but he insists that philosophizing on this subject without advertence to revelation is sterile. He avoids the second pitfall of philosophizing about history without constant reference to historical fact. His book is therefore a fruitful study on what has become a most popular subject.

**MEDIEVAL ESSAYS.** — By Christopher Dawson. Sheed and Ward, New York, 1954, 271 pp. \$3.50.

Modern Europe stands on the social foundations of medieval Europe. It would be religious, too, had it not wasted its heritage, for the greatest medieval institution was the Catholic Christian church. The Roman empire bogged down by internal social decay and economic exploitation of its vast resources by the privileged few. Christianity came just in time to save Europe. Christian bishops became the local religious, social and governmental heads in the new order; monasteries preserved ancient culture and helped to civilize barbarians of north and west.

Medieval religion was a *life*, an organized pattern of behavior with an autonomous economic existence. The medieval church was the social organism; the state was within the church. Gregory VII's great service consisted in breaking the strangle hold a part, that is, the territorial church, had on the whole.

The barbarian warrior became first a feudal vassal, then the Christian knight, a member of a broad Christian society which transcended old, narrow tribal limits. The Moslems through Provence contributed pagan, "romantic" courtly love later Christianized and idealized in the North. Science, to the Arab, magic; to the ancient Greek, intelligence, was to Roger Bacon anti-social.

CLARENCE A. HERBST, S.J.  
St. Louis University



**INSTITUTIONS OF PRIMITIVE SOCIETY: A Series of Broadcast Talks.**—E. E. Evans-Pritchard (ed.). Free Press, Glencoe, Illinois, 1954, viii, 107 pp. \$2.50.

This excellent little book is highly recommended for collateral reading in elementary courses of social science. Eight British social anthropologists discuss the following topics: religion, orientations in economic life, aesthetics, law, the family and kinship, political institutions, mind, modes of thought. Of course, the limitations of radio talks are perceived: bold statements are made where qualified ones would appear in the classroom; there is some overlapping. This is all to the good, however, as it concerns respect for foreign ways of thought, the multiplicity of possible forms for any given social phase of culture and the difference between "primitive" and industrialized cultures with regard to blood relationship concepts. There are the almost inevitable phrases and ideas with which one could take exception, but space does not allow of their discussion, and the educated Catholic reader will take them in his stride.

J. FRANKLIN EWING, S.J.  
Fordham University

#### PAPER-BOUND ISSUES

**FORCE AND FREEDOM: An Interpretation of History.**—By Jacob Burckhardt. Meridian Book No. 2. The Noonday Press, 17 Union Sq., New York 3, N. Y., 1955, 346 pp. \$1.35.

**SOCIAL CLASSES AND IMPERIALISM.**—By Joseph Schumpeter. Meridian Book No. 4. Noonday Press, 1955, 182 pp. \$1.25.

**WAYWARD CHILDREN: A Psychoanalytic Study of Delinquent Children.**—By August Aichhorn. Foreword by Sigmund Freud. Meridian Book No. 5. Noonday Press, 1955, 182 pp. \$1.25.

**HERE I STAND: A Life of Martin Luther.**—By Roland H. Bainton. Mentor Book No. 127. New American Library, 501 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y., 1955, 336 pp. 50c.

**THE WAY OF LIFE: Wisdom of Ancient China.**—By Lao Tzu. Translated by R. B. Blakney. Mentor Book No. 129. New American Library, 1955, 134 pp. 35c.

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# LETTERS

## Supplement

Are Father Thomas' two articles on the American Catholic family, the first in his new series, going to be reprinted? They are an excellent supplement to our main text in the family course here, *Marriage and the Family* (Thomas, Mihanovich and Schnepp). SOCIAL ORDER is very helpful to our students.

SISTER M. BENEDICTUS

St. Mary's College  
Notre Dame, Indiana

## Mental Clinics

Are there any Catholic parishes which operate or sponsor religio-psychiatric clinics for helping people with difficult emotional problems? I am thinking of clinics similar to the one at the Marble Collegiate church in New York. The clinics could be for marriage counseling also, perhaps similar to the counseling given at the American Institute of Family Relations in Los Angeles.

I understand that several months ago a counseling center was started in St. Louis under the sponsorship of the Metropolitan Church Federation.

There is certainly need for more than one such center in a city. Perhaps Catholic churches could cooperate in the operation of such clinics, or work out some arrangement so that psychiatric help may be available within the financial capacity of people who need it.

R. A. EMNETT

St. Louis, Mo.

## Cheers

... An excellent publication.

PATRICK E. SHANAHAN

New York

... the article on liberalism [by Thomas P. Neill, October, 1954, p. 339] I

thought was rather a good job. . . .

WILL LISSNER

*American Journal of Economics  
and Sociology*  
New York

## "Threat to U. S. Indians"

... I know that these articles will prove a valuable influence in helping to safeguard the rights of our Indian fellow-citizens. I know that a number of others here would like very much to read the three articles.

ALEXANDER LESSER  
Executive Director

Association on American  
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New York 28

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## Worth Reading

Paul N. Zammit, O.P., "The Need of International Society," *The Thomist*, 18 (January, 1955) 71-97.

Society consists in the dynamic union of all the social actions of its members toward the common good of all. It is, moreover, something more than a mere figment and something less than an independent organism. Man is naturally social, but he is free to specify the form of government, the mate in marriage, etc.

International society today is a union of politically independent states, an "interstatal" society. Sovereign states, as they exist today, are natural societies to the extent that some society larger than the family is needed for man's welfare. On the other hand, neither the actual frontiers nor the creation and suppression of states can be said to be natural. These result from free human compacts. "The larger-than-the-family society is natural in its widening aspect, but not in its restricting aspect . . . so also it is natural that states should unite to form an international society and eventually a world society."

Four facts indicate the natural tendency of man toward international society:

1. The Unity of Mankind. Man is one in nature and purpose, in origin and in habitation on the same planet. All men are inclined to the same happiness in this life, to the integral and harmonious development of all human capabilities under the guidance of reason.

2. The International Tendency of Human Progress. Groups long isolated tend to be backward; every social activity, on the other hand, tends to become international. This seems to be a natural tendency of all civilized peoples.

3. The Right to International Commerce. Although goods are unevenly distributed over the planet, they are destined by God for the whole human race. Countries rich in resources must share them by means of international commerce.

4. The Existence of International Law. Modern man has recognized the existence of some such law and of some courts for its adjudication; he has not yet taken the logical step of recognizing the need for a correlative authority.

Walter Lippmann, "The Decline of Western Democracy," *Atlantic Monthly*, 195 (February, 1955) 29-36.

The impact of nineteenth-century *laissez faire* liberalism upon democracy induced the idea that governments should be weak. This idea was abetted by a long peace and steady economic progress. Governments had to make few unpopular decisions during this period; the conviction grew that progress the people desired was both intrinsically good and attainable without courageous government intervention.

World War I shattered this illusion. Governments were unable to contain the war either in magnitude or extent. They found that over a long period of years they had been abdicating in favor of popular opinion. "The people have acquired power which they are incapable of exercising, and the governments they elect have lost powers which they must recover if they are to govern."

The result has been that it is increasingly difficult to face unpleasant facts and to reach unpopular decisions. Statesmanship has surrendered to popular opinion; public officials have become "the ministers of an opinionated despot," the people.

There have been men who spoke out against this trend and those, also, who correctly judged situations and sound policies. But fighting against the popular tide is a hazardous undertaking; politicians prefer to take refuge in servitude by proclaiming themselves "the servants of the people."

To arrest this decay, there must be a return to "government strong enough to govern." To attain this profoundly unpopular change, we must begin by recognizing the fallacy of expecting popular opinion to represent the genuine interests of *The People*. No majority, not even all voters, nor yet all citizens at any given moment are *The People*. *The People* are "a corporation, an entity, . . . which lives on while individuals come into it and go out of it."

A people is entitled to representation, but its opinion must be evaluated in the light of sound public policy, and a rational accommodation must be reached.

Thoughtful reading of SOCIAL ORDER would help put teachers in touch with the world their students live in. **Brother Leo Murray, S.M.**

We can hardly say how much we enjoy your magazine! We are delighted with its breadth of interest and the competence of the articles . . .  
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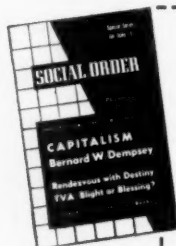
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